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Spring 1980
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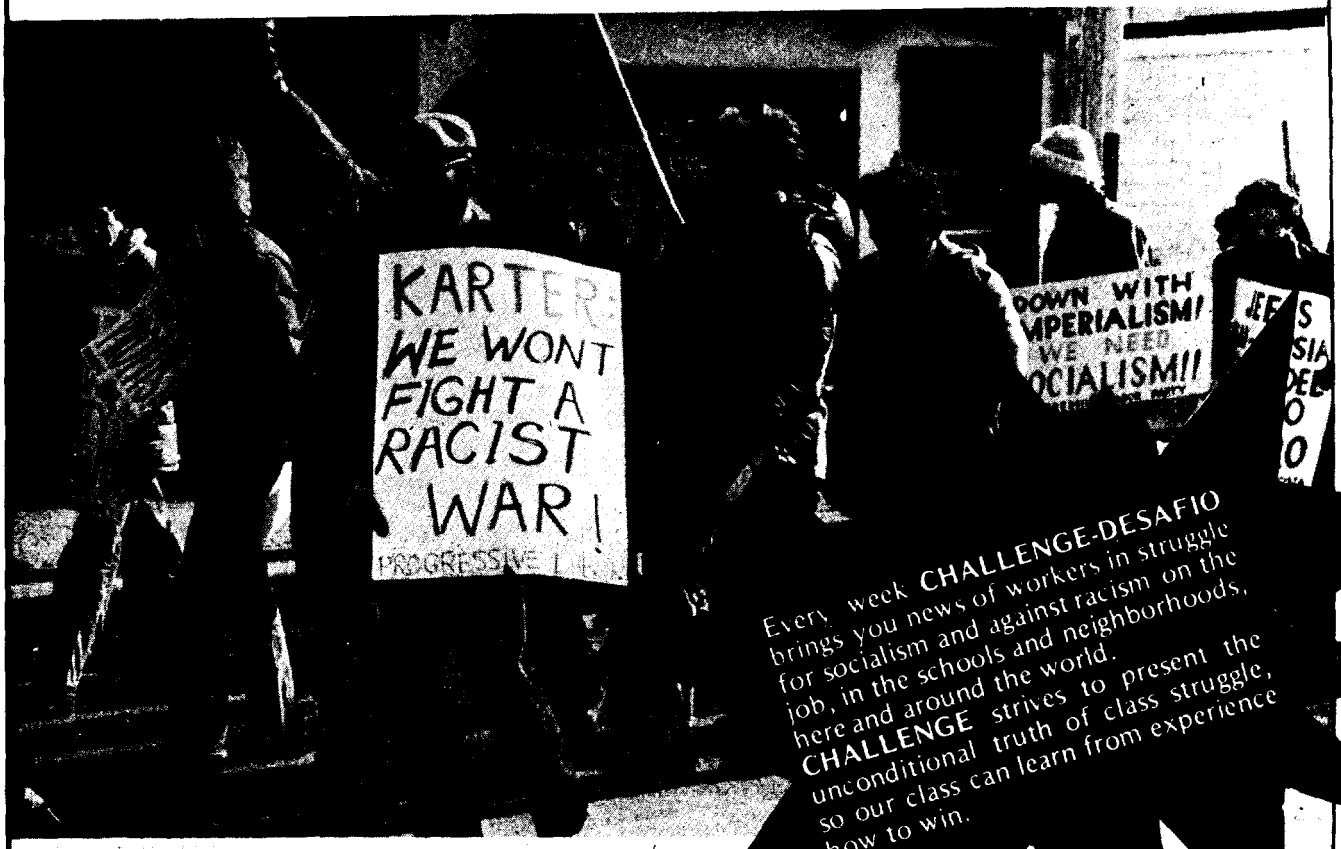

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Spring 1980 *Vol. 13, No. 1*

PROGRESSIVE LABOR MAGAZINE
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Letters and selected short subjects from our readers

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As the U.S. ruling class moves closer to war with the Soviet bosses, all kinds of liberals and social fascists are trying to block any real fightback by organizing a phony "peace" movement. This editorial shows why workers and students must reject this trap and build a worker-student alliance against the bosses.

The Germ of Racism 12
The Prophets of Racism 28

The ruling class twists science to spread racism. E.O. Wilson has "invented" the "science" of sociobiology, which claims that all human behavior is caused by genes, and that minority workers have "defective" genes that cause crime, poverty and illiteracy. In these two articles, science is untwisted and it may be seen that capitalism is the "defective gene" we must destroy.

Capitalism, Cutbacks & Collapse 36

As U.S. capitalism declines, the bosses are turning increasingly to cutbacks in services to conserve their capital. This article details how Chicago's bosses took the lead in a racist movement that paved the way for the current chaos and destruction of the Chicago public school system.

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Racism is the backbone of the capitalist system. This article, originally published as a Progressive Labor Party pamphlet, shows how the bosses reap super-profits by dividing the working class, and how the superexploitation of minority workers is the basis of low wages and oppression for white workers.

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The articles appearing in PL Magazine are published because the Editorial Board believes they are generally useful in the ideological development of the international revolutionary communist movement. Only the editorial and PLP National Committee documents represent the official policies of the Party.

notes and comment

We welcome contributions from our readers on articles in PL Magazine and related topics. Both letters, which appear under notes, and longer contributions, which are printed as **comment**, should be addressed to:

PL MAGAZINE
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Bookstore Sales of PL

To the Editors:

Recently, after becoming a close supporter of the Party, I proposed to the Chicago-Gary Area leadership that the Party's publications should be placed in various bookstores and other locations which would probably accept them as they carried other "left/progressive" publications, and I volunteered to accept responsibility for this action. As of this writing, eleven bookstores, etc. now carry Party publications and there are several more on the line. This letter is to explain how this came about, its successes, and plans for the future.

In every city there are always bookstores, etc. which carry or are open to left, radical ideas and publications. The point is to get our Party's publications into these localities. First, I wrote down a list of all the potential locations which I thought might accept our publications and came up with about ten places. It turned out that in the course of placing publications in these places the names of new possibilities kept popping up, thus allowing for continual expansion. Second, I followed a plan of action. I felt it would be much better to start out slow at first and then gradually pick up steam. So I started out by taking five copies of the new PL Magazine into the bookstore with the following sales pitch: "Hi, I'm from Progressive Labor Publications and we're trying to get bookstores in the area to carry our quarterly theoretical journal **Progressive Labor**. We offer the magazine **on consignment** and at a 40% discount to you"(i.e. for each copy sold they keep 30¢ and we get 45¢). Nine out of the original ten said they would try it out to see how it would go, although I had to wage struggle with some who were hesitant. After making collections the first time, I felt the work needed to be expanded, and began to place one copy each of all the 75¢ back issues in the stores, and struggled with five stores to take **Challenge**, also. Sales at all the stores are doing very well, including **C-D**, and the next step is to place other publications in the stores. Also, I began to stamp all the publications with the party's local address.

Comradely, R.G.

Stakhanovism Questioned

To the Editors:

Marxism and Material Incentives (PL Magazine, vol. 13, no. 1) incorrectly assigns a "left" aspect to the Stakhanovite movement and the Great Leap Forward. The article does show that the collective working class is able to improve the technical aspect and to increase the quantity of production more dramatically than a few bourgeois experts working without the help of the proletariat. Nevertheless, the criteria which the author, S.P., uses to evaluate the relationship between "mastering technique" and socialist revolution are incomplete. The chief criterion is this: is this activity part of the process by which the working class is consciously using its dictatorship to destroy the capitalist relations of production?

Since modern technology has vastly increased productivity, a special class of planners who direct the common affairs of society is no longer needed. Thus, after forcibly removing the means of production from the bosses, collective ownership enables the **entire** associated working class to formulate the national plan of social needs, and arrange its forces to obtain these goals. Immediately, the proletariat liquidates buying and selling, wages, markets—in a word, all commodity relations. The political organization of the proletariat is designed to facilitate such **mass** planning. Marx demonstrated that mass planning must begin immediately with the revolution. He also showed that it

From the Editors

HELP WANTED

R.G.'s letter above points to an important need—comrades and friends to guarantee sales of *PL* on newsstands and in bookstores. If you can help us with this, please let us know!

CHANGING FORMAT

Readers may have noticed some changes in recent issues of *PL*, as we continue to improve both the form and content. In particular, we have tried to make ***notes and comment*** better organized and more readable and to develop ***In Struggle*** as a useful review of PL's activities. We invite readers to assist us in this by sharing with us your comments and criticisms. There have also been typographical changes. Our new headline faces are Clearface Thick and Clearface Bold Italic. Our text face is also changing; in this issue we are trying Century Schoolbook.

REVISTA PL

The current issue of ***Revista PL,*** the Spanish edition of ***PL,*** includes ***Social Fascism*** (13:1), ***Can History Be A Science*** (12:4), ***Students Must Ally With Workers*** (12:3), ***The Profits of Racism*** (in this issue) and an article on recent developments in Central America. To order, use coupon on page 64.

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would improve to the same degree that all impediments (eg, the division between town and country, between mental and manual labor) were eliminated.

These measures, mass planning on a non-commodity basis, constitute the long-run means for ending exploitation and class rule. This paramount class interest of the working class can be described as "material," "moral" and "political" inasmuch as the entire working class becomes master of its productive forces. Therefore, the capitalist term "incentives," a term appropriate only to the motivation of employees, is inadequate for describing the outlook of the future owners of the means of production.

Can it be said that the Stakhanovite movement and the Great Leap Forward were part of a process which had as its goal mass planning on a non-commodity basis? S.P. does not tell us whether, and in what way, the goals of the Five Year Plans of the Soviet economy were determined by the working class. Nor does S.P. place the Stakhanovite movement within the context of the Plans. What criteria were used for goals? Was the elimination of one-man management one of the goals? Was the elimination of profit from the Soviet economy one of the goals? If so, why couldn't they be realized? These questions must be addressed when proving that the Stakhanovite movement was a "left" development. S.P. does say that Stakhanovism" . . . represented a threat to factory managers, particularly hangers-on of bourgeois origin and their allies . . ." However, it is clear that this movement did not counter the use of bourgeois managers. The point is: for whom and for what did the Stakhanovite master technique exist?

On the other hand, the Great Leap Forward was a mass movement of which S.P. tells us very little, except to say that it aimed to break down the division of mental and manual labor, and the division of city and country, and to introduce some aspects of communist distribution. Well and good. But how did they? What relationship did the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party have to the initiation of this movement? Here again: did the proletariat make the national plan?

In short, S.P. makes it appear that neither the Soviet workers nor the Chinese workers truly owned the means of production, never really had the responsibility for mass national planning. Without that responsibility mastering technique is not part of the revolutionary process. Without the responsibility of socialist production relations, there is no social distribution. Unwittingly, S.P. implies that while the Bolshevik Party of the 1930's was revolutionary (they led the fight against fascism) it never shared the control of the means of production with the working class. Moreover, S.P. seems to say that the Great Leap Forward failed because the participants did not **take away** ownership of the means of production from the Chinese Communist Party and make their own, more scientific, plan for production. S.P. implies that the Stakhanovites should have forcibly removed the "managers." That, indeed, would have been a left development. Additionally, it would seem that the participants in the Great Leap Forward should have thrown out the leadership of the CCP because of incompetence, much as the workers of the Paris Commune often recalled and removed incompetent members of the Communal Board. That too would have been a left development.

A left development can only be measured by the extent to which it contributes to helping the working class to consciously consolidate its ownership of the means of production. This is the thrust of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Such ownership will enable the collective working class to work hard, improve its collective and individual life and sweep away all impediments.

Comradely, D.F.

Response by editors of PL Magazine

D.F. is correct that working class control over the means of production must mean control at the national level, including the national economic plan, which will become the world economic plan when socialism triumphs the world over. Perhaps S.P. should have placed more emphasis on this point.

But the main aspect of S.P.'s article is about seizing control **at the point of production:** *control over the work process, over the technology. This also is a key aspect of the struggle for socialism. The working class must fight to convert jobs from drudgery done unwillingly for the benefit of capitalists into a creative expression of workers' energy which benefits the working class. D.F. incorrectly implies this is a minor or irrelevant question.*

Also, the key question about control of the national economy is the question of who controls the state. D.F. does not raise this issue. Fundamentally, the Soviet state in the 1930's and the Chinese state in the 1950's was under the control of the working class, although there were secondary tendencies towards control by the bourgeoisie (especially the "experts" and the new bourgeoisie within the Party). This working class control was exercised through the Communist Party, which generally struggled for the elimination of capitalist economic principles. The Communist Party in both countries followed the incorrect policy of making concessions to the bourgeoisie in the name of efficiency and raising production. Such errors, serious as they were, must be evaluated in light of the general tendency of the period—which was towards more class control over society.

History Cartoon

To the Editors:

J.G.'s letter in the winter issue of **PL** is quite correct. The cartoon within the article entitled **Can History be a Science** (Vol. 12, no. 4) used the terms, 'labor power' and 'surplus labor power' to characterize production relations in Antiquity and Feudalism instead of the scientifically correct terms, 'labor' and 'surplus labor.' In my 'zeal' to demonstrate the similarity of class societies when the social product was divided I failed to use the correct categories. Since my intent, insofar as it is possible in one cartoon, was to show the development of social relations in

notes and comment

a scientific manner, I apologize for any deviation from that intent. In that regard, I hope that readers understood my attempt to show class struggle within each period.

On the other hand J.G. misunderstands Marx's reasons for dividing history into Antiquity, Feudalism, and Capitalism. The division was not arbitrary. Nor was it based merely upon their similarity (i.e. they were all class societies). It was precisely because of the differences within the similarity of their production relations. Unfortunately, the difference in relations is hard to show in one cartoon. The relationship of Master to Slave, Lord to Serf, and Boss to Wage-slave are similar; yet, for example, the Slave thought he gave all his labor to the Master, the Serf knew exactly how much labor was for himself and how much was for the Lord; the Wage-slave often has the illusion that his wages constitute his entire productive value.

Unfortunately, the rest of J.G.'s letter is devoted to a broadside of dialectical words unrelated to any comment on history or my cartoon. This word-blast is fired off merely to 'impress."

Comradely, R.H.

Nuclear Murder

To the Editors:

PL has recently criticized the new anti-nuclear movement on the grounds that it represents a "Trojan horse," born and bred by the bourgeoisie, and does not address an issue of major importance to the working class. (Editorial, The Anti-Nuclear Movement: The Bosses Build a Trojan Horse—PL Magazine, Fall 1979).

Among other things, that criticism implies that the health risks associated with nuclear power are very low for the working class, given the other hazards of living in capitalist society at this moment in history. I decided to see what the original data sources might have to say about that assessment, and along the way came across an interesting perspective on the problem.

There is only one authoritative reference point in relation to low-level radiation—the risk most debated in relation to nuclear power—the 1972 National Academy of Sciences report on the Biological Effects of Ionizing Radiation. As is to be expected, the human data cited in that report are almost exclusively derived from the follow-up of the survivors of the A-bomb attacks on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Out of the 285,000 survivors, 415 of the 70,000 deaths which occurred from 1945 through 1970 could be attributed to radiation exposure. Of the 52,000 deaths among the 214,000 survivors exposed to low-dose radiation (less than one rad), ten have been attributed to radiation.

Each of those deaths, of course, is an act of murder. The Japanese had already sued for peace before the bombs were dropped on Aug. 4th and 9th, 1945. The U.S. military, however, "wanted to see what would happen," and was trying to intimidate the Soviet Union. The risk of radiation, however, seems low. On the other hand, somewhere between 100 and 200,000 people—the precise figure will never be known—died from the explosions.

I think the editorial is well taken—trying to stop a war takes priority over efforts to stop nuclear power plants.

RC
Chicago

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notes and comment

Negation & Development: Two Views

No General Law of Progressive Development

This is a response to the letters of R.H. and D.H. on the Second Law of Thermodynamics and Prigogine's work in thermodynamics which appeared in the winter issue of **PL** (Vol. 13, No. 1). Their letters focus attention on an important subject. They bring an enthusiasm that the subject deserves, but, in my opinion, their letters encourage seriously incorrect thinking.

Historically, the Second Law of Thermodynamics has been used to justify pessimism about the possibility of progress. The 2nd Law states that an isolated system will evolve in such a way that its total measure of disorder, "entropy," will increase. The system, as a whole, goes downhill.

Enemies of working class revolution are content to maintain that the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics implies "that revolution is a futile gesture, because there would be no continuing progress, only ultimate disorder." And apparently R.H., who is quoted here, has been convinced that this is an implication of the 2nd Law.

D.H. also appears to be convinced that the 2nd Law says that "everything just runs down and disintegrates," which doesn't say much for the possibility for revolution.

The truth of the matter is that this pessimistic conclusion about revolution does not at all follow from the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics. The law applies to isolated systems, and human society is hardly an isolated system. Matter is exchanged with the earth and great quantities of energy have flowed onto the earth for millions of years from the sun. **Pessimism does not come from the 2nd Law, it comes from the apologists for the bourgeoisie, and is inadvertently spread by others who may have the best of intentions.**

Pessimism based on the 2nd Law is false propaganda serving the bourgeoisie. It is similar to using Darwin's concept of survival of the fittest to justify why capitalist exploitation and racism would naturally always be with us. (In that view we are led to believe that the bourgeoisie is just more "fit" than the proletariat, and whites are more "fit" than non-whites.)

The bourgeoisie and its intellectual justifiers are always looking for ways to pass off bourgeois privilege and exploitation as eternal. They misuse scientific truth to do this. It is a mistake for us to accept any of these self-serving ideas of the bourgeoisie. However, that is what comrades R.H. and D.H. seem to have done. While urging against one of the bourgeoisie's conclusions, they have been misled into spreading some of these false assumptions.

The fuss over the 2nd Law is coming up because of important new ideas developed by Dr. Ilya Prigogine and his research group. His theoretical work deals with how systems develop. His discoveries in-

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Progressive Development Is Universal

Although it seems like a very rarefied topic, the discussion around the second law of thermodynamics has unearthed some incorrect ideas which may be shared by a few comrades. One comrade, DG, has opened a full-scale attack on the foundations of communism. DG's main blast is directed at the law of the negation of the negation, which he says was a convenient, contemporary assumption used by Marx and Engels to support changes which they considered progressive.

Moreover, DG maintains that Engels, being a child of his time, merely imported an idealist bias from Hegel because "Engels consistently emphasized how even if things appeared to go backward, they were in essence going forwards." Well, well! So, it appears Engels twisted reality—but in a good cause! It would seem that the negation of the negation was dragged in to convince people who are ignorant of reality that some changes (which I presume to be the working-class movement, although DG does not tell us) were indeed progressive changes.

Now, however, it seems that DG has penetrated the confusion which Marx and Engels created to obscure harsh reality. I quote from DG:

> Today we have ample evidence that the philosophical bias toward progress of Marx and Engels' time was incorrect. Development and progressive change are not the same. Particular systems can go forward or backward both quantitatively and qualitatively. Despite this fact, there is great resistance to removing the assumption of progressive development at the level of Marxist ideology. The focus of this resistance is the concept of the negation of the negation. The idea that development in the form of the negation of the negation implies progress is found in the English-language philosophy texts of Soviet philosophers of the last decade.

I suppose that by this last reference DG wants to imply that the filth of revisionism is derived from the concept of the negation of the negation.

So! DG has cleared the fog! There is, he says, no general law of progressive development. How does DG prove that the negation of the negation (and, I might add, dialectics) has perverted Marxist ideology and crippled its ability to be more effective in class struggle? He proves it by foisting on the reader a complete and utter falsehood, deliberately fabricated to more easily shoot down the fact of progressive development. Despite having read **Ludwig Feuerback** and **The Dialectics of Nature** and doubtless many other texts, DG writes:

> The term "the negation of the negation" describes the process of a thing having a

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comment and notes

No General Law (continued from page 5)

volve how "open" systems develop. Such systems, which exchange energy and matter with the outside, can be considered parts of isolated closed systems which the 2nd Law talks about. Thus Prigogine's work is dealing with uneven development. He has shown that some parts of a system progress in order and structure while the system as a whole goes down.

Prigogine calls these progressive parts of the system "dissipative structures" because they dissipate randomness and decay to other parts of the whole system. As far as I know, Prigogine has not proved that every system always contains within it some dissipative structures. Yet this is the impression R.H. gives when writing that Prigogine discovered "every decaying system, physical or otherwise, gives rise to a new and more complex system out of the very decay of the parent system." This impression does not seem right to me because the decay of the sun, for example, does not seem to give rise to progressive development on the sun as much as it does on the earth and in the rest of the solar system.

My brief description of Prigogine's work makes it clear that he did not revise the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics. The 2nd Law allows us to conclude that progressive development could take place in open systems, and Prigogine's work tells us something of how this does happen.

Up to this time, it has been useful to the bourgeoisie that masses of people—or their potential leaders—think unclearly about the 2nd Law. That is because unclear thinking leads to pessimism about revolutionary change being possible or progressive. Now this same unclear thinking is beginning to backfire on the bourgeoisie. Such unclear thinking could easily lead us to conclude that Prigogine has discovered that out of decaying capitalism a better society will surely result.

Four days after the **New York Times** featured an article on Prigogine's work, an editorial appeared warning people not to get carried away. The June 2, 1979 editorial titled "A Loophole for Optimism" began:

> We were awed by the news that a "loophole" has been discovered in the famous Second Law of Thermodynamics. To scientists this must be a remarkable development. Philosophically, it's dazzling.

By expressing their so-called awe, the **Times** tries to cover up the fact that the 2nd Law has been purposefully misinterpreted to encourage pessimism about the possibility of social progress. The **Times** goes on:

> But the idea is so inviting that we can almost predict intellectual trouble. Soon, we fear, it will be snatched up to justify all manner of social, psychological, political and simply crackpot convictions.

Why are the **Times** editors blind to the same kind of misuse of the 2nd Law, but sensitive to misuse of Prigogine's discoveries? Here is a good example of blindness that comes from allegiance to a declining social class which is no longer in a position to face the truth.

It should not go without notice when the bourgeoisie trips up in its effort to keep ideological predominance. However, there are right and wrong ways to make use of these situations. First, we need to be able to explain what is going on. This cannot be done fully or correctly if we have accepted some of the incorrect assumptions benefitting the bourgeoisie. By accepting the bourgeois view of the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics, R.H. and D.H. could not correctly or fully explain the motivation behind the **Times** editorial. Second, we need to seriously evaluate new discoveries ourselves in a serious way. Just because the bourgeoisie does not treat them seriously, this is no reason for us to be complacent.

Too much of the content of the letters of R.H. and D.H. is merely posturing before the inconsistencies of bourgeois intellectuals. I think we have to ask what good this is to the working class and the communist movement. Does it open the way for further progress in developing ideology that is needed for working class revolution and the liberation of all oppressed peoples? I don't see how it really does. It might feel good, but posturing along with little else encourages the illusion that posturing is ideological struggle. This diverts and holds back the actual ideological struggle that needs to take place.

I'd like to raise an important ideological issue connected to the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics. To start, consider the fact that Engels did not agree with the 2nd Law. His reason, as explained in "Dialectics of Nature," was that if the 2nd Law were applied to the whole universe, it would require some sort of orderliness and energy to start out with. It would require an outside impulse, and Engels rejected that. Today, some people use the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics in this way to prove that god exists.

Engels was convinced that the 2nd Law couldn't apply to the universe as a whole. As a result, D.H. points out, Engels predicted that "the heat radiated into cosmic space must be able to become transformed into another form of motion, in which it can again be stored up and rendered active." This is surely a scientifically respectable speculation, especially considering the time it was made.

Today it is known that space and time are affected by mass and energy (through gravitation) and this can make a difference in the properties of the universe around us and the properties of the universe as a whole. Prigogine remarks in the May 29 **New York Times** interview:

> At the moment, we know from experiments that the Second Law of Thermodynamics applies to the universe at short range, but gravitational effects are not well understood, we know little about the formation of black holes and so on. To speak about the universe as a whole, to call it a closed system doomed by the Second Law, that is an extrapolation that goes beyond the present limits of knowledge.

If Engels knew general relativity he would have been even more encouraged, no doubt, to think that the

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No General Law

2nd Law might not apply to the whole universe. However, it is not a burning issue before the communist movement whether the 2nd Law applies to the whole universe. We are too ignorant of the whole universe to tell. At the same time, we know enough to say that it is plausible for the 2nd Law to apply to situations around us while still not applying to the whole universe.

What is significant in Engels' writings is that he says little about the application of the 2nd Law to finite systems which are of practical interest. His main interest was in the philosophical issues that were sharply brought out when the 2nd Law was applied to the whole universe. Had he studied cases where the 2nd Law applied practically, he would have seen real cases of downhill development.

It is a good guess that Engels ignored the practical applications of the 2nd Law because of the widespread philosophical assumption of the time that any unfolding of new qualities or things would necessarily be progressive. Engels was also interested primarily in processes which he believed to be progressive. Whether it was because of his philosophical bias or because of the kinds of processes he was interested in, Engels consistently emphasized how even if things appeared to go backwards, they were in essence going forward.

To appreciate the direction of development, he and Marx said we should look at the return of old characteristics, not as a return to the old, but as a "negation of the negation" of the old. By doing this we would understand specifically the direction of development. And in the cases they were writing about, this was progressive development.

The term "negation of the negation" describes the process of a thing having an old characteristic changing to have this characteristic replaced by another and then changing so it is replaced back again by the old characteristic. In the first instance, the thing is said to "change into its opposite" or to become its "negation." Thus when the old characteristic comes back, the thing is said to be the "negation of the negation" of when it originally had the old characteristic.

Today we have ample evidence that the philosophical bias towards progress of Marx' and Engels' time was incorrect. Development and progressive change are not the same. Particular systems can go forwards or backwards both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Despite this fact, there is great resistance to removing the assumption of progressive development at the level of Marxist ideology. The focus of this resistance is the concept of the negation of the negation. The idea that development in the form of the negation of the negation implies progress is found in the English language philosophy texts of Soviet philosophers in the last decades. In **Fundamentals of Marxist Leninist Philosophy** (1974), for example, we can read:

> A characteristic feature of the process of the negation of the negation is its **irreversibility,** that is, development that as a general tendency cannot be motion in reverse, from higher forms to lower forms, from the more complex to the less complex.

Let us ask ourselves: Is this really the way the world is? Consider an example familiar to all. A healthy person becomes ill and gets well. Has the person's health merely returned as it was? Probably not. We may find it has returned on a higher level if the person has developed a resistance to a disease causing the illness. On the other hand, we may find that irreversible damage has taken place to the person's internal organs so that while health has been restored it is on a lower level.

Do we say that one case is the real negation of the negation and the other is not? Do we take the case with irreversible damage and expand the system to include doctors who may learn from the experience and future patients who may benefit and any number of other things to conclude that the process that went on is "really" from lower to higher? No, not if we, as Engels says in **Ludwig Feuerbach** "resolve to comprehend the real world—nature and history—just as it presents itself to everyone who approaches it free from preconceived idealist fancies." It is clear that individual processes proceed according to the negation of the negation and some go from lower to higher and some go from higher to lower.

The law of the negation of the negation has been so strongly identified with the assumption of the progressive nature of development that some feel that the end of the assumption should put an end to acceptance of the law of the negation of the negation. In my opinion, it is probably for this reason that Mao rejected the law. Some communists in the U.S. reject it totally as an idealist holdover from Hegel.

My study of the world and of Marxist thinkers who have developed, used, and revised the idea of the negation of the negation shows me it is wrong and unnecessary to reject the entire concept. It is true that Engels only discussed progressive change in his examples illustrating the meaning of the negation of the negation. However, his discussions were complete enough—going carefully step by step—that we can remove his assumption of progressive development and still have a useful concept of the negation of the negation remaining.

Beyond looking at Engels it is enlightening to examine the arguments of those—particularly Soviet writers—who have developed new connections linking the assumption of progressive development and development in the pattern of the negation of the negation. But this is beyond the scope of this letter.

I think the correct approach is to regard the main content of the law of the negation of the negation as expressing the correct way to view the return of old forms and characteristics. I would be interested in knowing what other readers of **PL Magazine** and PLP members think of this way of looking at the negation of the negation law.

As for Prigogine's work, I think it is a mistake to view it, as R.H. says, as "a mathematical description of the dialectical principle of the negation of the negation." This assumes that the law of the negation of the negation is the general law of progressive

(continued on page 8)

comment and notes

No General Law *(continued from page 7)*

development. It is my conclusion that a general law that determines progressive development has yet to be formulated which stands the test of our knowledge of development as it occurs in nature and thinking. I believe Prigogine's work will help greatly in the formulation of such a general law, and that the concept of the negation of the negation, as modified, will be a necessary ingredient, but neither one nor both together is the general dialectical law of progressive development.

Ideological questions like that of the correct interpretation of the law of the negation of the negation are important for the communist movement. To completely discard the law is to throw out the concepts of irreversibility and a direction to development and the concept of zig-zag development. However, it is also a serious mistake to equate development with progress. If progress is assumed to always be occurring in every case, there is no need to worry about things going backwards except in superficial ways.

With this outlook, the return of old leaders, old policies, and other characteristics of an earlier time can only be seen as a "return on a higher level." Thus, for example, there is no need to fully investigate China's new leaders, except to see in what ways their return is a return at a higher level. Similarly, there is no need to fully investigate whether the Soviet Union has experienced a restoration of capitalism even "at a higher level" because this would be motion in reverse, from socialism to capitalism. People can and do think this way, or more accurately, use this justification to avoid serious thinking.

Or when fascism wins, as it did in Chile, some people can justify their mistakes with the automatic claim that their failure was necessary for the development of the working class on a higher level. This kind of thinking doesn't serve the working class or the communist movement. But without struggle, this kind of thinking will persist.

D. G.

Development Is Universal *(continued from page 5)*

> characteristic changing to have this characteristic replaced by another and then changing so it is replaced back again by the old characteristic. In the first instance, the thing is said to "change into its opposite" or become its "negation." Thus, when the old characteristic comes back, the thing is said to be "the negation of the negation" of when it originally had the old characteristic.

In other words, DG says the negation of the negation can be shown in this way: First I write the letter 'A' and then I cancel it. Then I write the letter 'A' again. Engels gives this reply in **Anti-Duhring**:

> But it is clear that in a negation of the negation which consists of the childish pastime of alternately writing and cancelling 'A' or alternately declaring that a rose is a rose and that it is not a rose, nothing comes out of it but the stupidity of the person who adopts such a tedious procedure. And yet the metaphysicians try to tell us that this is the right way to carry out the negation of the negation if we ever want to do such a thing.

But what is the negation of the negation and why is it important? Again I quote from Engels:

> And so, what is the negation of the negation? An extremely general—and for this reason extremely far-reaching and important—law of development of nature, history, and thought; a law which, as we have seen, holds good in the animal and plant kingdoms, in geology, mathematics, in history and in philosophy . . . It is obvious that I do not say anything concerning the **particular** process of development of, for example, a grain of barley from germination to the death of the fruit-bearing plant, if I say it is a negation of the negation. For, as the integral calculus is **also** a negation of the negation, if I said anything of the sort I should only be making the nonsensical statement that the life-process of a barley plant was integral calculus, or for that matter that it was socialism. That, however, is precisely what the metaphysicians are constantly imputing to dialectics. When I say that all these processes are a negation of the negation, I bring them all together under this one law of motion, and for this very reason I leave out of account the specific peculiarities of each individual process. Dialectics, however, is nothing more than the science of the general laws of motion and development of nature, human society and thought.

But someone may object: The negation that has taken place in this case is not a real negation: I negate a grain of barley also when I grind it, an insect when I crush it underfoot, or the positive quantity 'A' when I cancel it, and so on. Or I negate the sentence "the rose is a rose" when I say: "The rose is not a rose," and what do I get if I then negate this negation and say: "But after all, the rose is a rose?"

These objections are in fact the chief arguments put forward by the metaphysicians against dialectics, and they are wholly worthy of the narrow-mindedness of this mode of thought. **Negation in dialectics does not mean simply saying no, or declaring that something does not exist, or destroying it in any way**

Development Is Universal

one likes. Long ago Spinoza said *Omnis determinatio est negatio*—every limitation or determination is at the same time a negation. **And further: the kind of negation is here determined, firstly by the general and, secondly, by the particular nature of the process. I must not only negate, but also sublate the negation. I must therefore so arrange the first negation that the second remains or becomes possible.** How? This depends on the particular nature of each individual case. If I grind a grain of barley, or crush an insect, I have carried out the first part of the action, but have made the second part impossible. **Every kind of thing therefore, has a peculiar way of being negated in such a manner that it gives rise to a development, and it is just the same with every kind of conception or idea.** The infinitesimal calculus involves a form of negation which is different from that used in the formation of positive powers from negative roots. This has to be learned, like everything else. The bare knowledge that the barley plant and the infinitesimal calculus are both governed by negation of negation does not enable me either to grow barley successfully or to differentiate and integrate; just as little as the bare knowledge of the laws of the determination of sound by the dimensions of the strings enables me to play the violin. (Anti-Duhring FLPH Moscow, 1962, pp. 193-5. Emphasis added.)

The negation of the negation summarizes the general features of evolutionary progressive development in every system of nature and surely human society is part of nature. The evolution of stars demonstrates a process of development. The evolution of our planetary system demonstrates another process of development. The evolution of living organisms demonstrates yet another. Still another is shown by the evolution of human society. The development of technology further demonstrates another process of development. The evolution of philosophy, too, demonstrates yet another process of development. Although each process is different, each one is a progressive development, clearly leading from less complex to more complex, i.e., from lower to higher. The negation of the negation is **not** a proof of anything. It is merely a very general statement that from all evidence to date, every class of things has its own internal process of development, which unfolds within itself, given the proper conditions. Individual elements or individuals within a system become disorganized, disintegrate, die; yet the system progressively develops.

It is, then, the task of the sciences to discover the particular underlying process of development germane to each class of things and then to apply this knowledge for our benefit. Thus: astronomy, biology, chemistry, physics.

The task of communist social science is to discover the underlying process of development of human society and then apply this knowledge for our benefit. That is, we the party must consciously apply the laws of social development in order to fight for socialism. The fact, the truth, of development, of development from less complex to more complex, from lower to higher; in short, progressive development, lies at the foundation of communist social science. Marx and Engels devoted their whole lives to the discovery of the various processes of development in all things, but especially to human society from primitive communism to capitalist society. In this way, they gave the working-class movement a scientific foundation. Their research, and their political struggle, proved the inevitability of socialism, and for more than one hundred years the working class has driven home the truth of that research by trying to take away the property of the bourgeoisie so that we can have a higher society—socialism, the rule of the proletariat, based upon the common ownership of the means of production, just as in primitive communism but on a higher level.

Socialism did not and could not develop at just any time in history. It could only have occurred after the progressive developments accruing during the course of thousands of years of class struggle, which is the law of development for society. It is the negation of the negation: primitive communism, negated by class society, negated by socialism—not by some automatic mechanical process, but because people have made these historical changes happen, for their development, for their interest—The negation of the negation does not prove this. It merely says that once again we can see a progressive development in another part of nature.

Here, of course, we have none of the metaphysical nonsense which DG ascribes to Marx and Engels. Here we have an infinite number of naturally occurring evolutionary processes, thousands of years of scientific research and hundreds of millions of workers demonstrating the truth of progressive development; and yet DG concludes "that a general law that determines progressive development has yet to be formulated which stands the test of our knowledge of development as it occurs in nature and thinking." Since the entire scientific basis of communism rests on just such a law, i.e. the negation of the negation, DG has attacked the scientific foundations of communism. Without the scientific description of progressive development in nature and thought, whose essence is summarized by dialectics, there is no science. Thus, there would be no Marxism-Leninism, which is the science of class struggle. There would be confusion. And that is the content of the rest of DG's letter: Confusion strewn about to cover up a dangerous attack.

Comradely, R.H.

EDITORIAL

The Choice Is Clear

Working-Class Unity or War

Tactical differences have broken out within the ruling class over how to reverse the sinking fortunes of the bosses, and how to halt the growing strength of Soviet imperialism. These differences are fueled by the mounting weaknesses of the capitalist class.

The two positions which seem to emerge both agree that the strength of the bosses is rapidly eroding and that nothing they do in the future is likely to reverse this trend. The Soviets will increase their military might, and the U.S. will become ever more isolated from their so-called allies. ("For the Soviets the invasion of Afghanistan is providing an early political bonus: the chance to create a sharp split between the U.S. and its European allies. And, though unimaginable a few years ago, today's economic and political realities enhance the possibility of the Russians pulling off this added coup." Felix Kessler, **Wall Street Journal,** 1/30/80)

Given this bleak situation for the bosses, one wing says: create a confrontation with the Soviets now! And, given the fact that the U.S. is not able to seriously wage a limited ground war, resort to nuclear war now! The main spokespeople for this trend are Carter and most of the Republican candidates for president.

The other group, whose main spokesperson seems to be Kennedy, starts off with the same universal truths: the U.S. is now too weak militarily and too isolated from its natural allies; therefore, the next period of time should be spent patching up the alliances and rebuilding the military. In the meantime, by attacking workers even harder at home via wage controls, gas rationing, etc., and by waltzing with the Soviets, time will be gained so that the U.S. will be better prepared for war with the Soviet Union. Generally, this group believes

that Carter has overplayed his hand in this current crisis. They warn that the U.S. is only shooting blanks and that its only remaining option is nuclear war. For example, George Kennan, main architect and ruling class strategist of cold war policies in the 1950s, sees the current situation this way:

> There was never... reason to suppose that the Soviet Government, its prestige once engaged, could be brought by open pressure of this nature to withdraw from Afghanistan. Barring a resort to war, the Soviet Government has already absorbed the worst of what we have to offer, and has nothing further to fear from us. Was this really mature statesmanship on our part? (NYT Feb. 1)

Thus, what Kennan et al., along with the Western European and Japanese bosses, fear is that, because the U.S. has played out its hand, the only option left is nuclear war. And Western European and Japanese bosses, realizing the weakness, ineptness and ruthlessness of U.S. imperialism, know that U.S. bosses will fight to the last cinder block and person in **their** countries.

If U.S. workers and students allow themselves to be caught in the middle between bosses' factions, their future is indeed grim! If workers and students allow our destiny to remain in the hands of one boss or another, the "choices" seem to boil down to this: war and fascism within the next two years; or war and fascism within the next five. What a choice!

If we are ever to break out of the everlasting treadmill of war and fascism which is the true nature of imperialism—we must at least learn some lessons from the Vietnamese War period.

The protest movement that is currently breaking out around the country, mainly on college campuses, cannot be restricted to mere opposition to the draft. All the anti-war protests against U.S. imperialism in Vietnam have not ended the danger of war. All the draft-card burnings and other anti-militarist actions have not lessened the unquenchable thirst of the Army brass for more warm bodies, this time women as well as men. (The butchers of our youth are now "fair.") The only way to stop the warmakers is to oppose imperialism and to organize to fight against it. Yes, there is at least one more fight, but it is **against the ruling class and for socialism.**

The anti-Vietnam War movement was essentially pacifist because it denied itself the ability to win. In order to win we must smash imperialism. In order to win, we need the working class. **The cornerstone of a successful anti-war, anti-imperialist policy must be based on unity with the working class.** So, the worker-student alliance, which developed in France in the late sixties, must be duplicated now in the U.S.

If this correct strategy of the worker-student alliance is to be meaningful, anti-racism must be another cornerstone of the politics of a new anti-war, anti-fascist movement. Included in the working class are millions of black and Latin workers. The U.S. Army is largely made up of these workers. Any plan to stop war means winning black and Latin workers—at the workplace, and in the Army. Without a reliable Army, U.S. imperialists are going no place fast.

Naturally, the liberal democrats and their bootlickers in the fake "left" are moving rapidly to co-opt, or even to launch, this movement for their own purposes. They, too, have learned lessons from the Vietnamese War period. They are already starting where they left off at the end of that war. At that point they had successfully taken over the movement for their own political goals, namely to get out of a losing war they themselves had started, and to lure millions of disaffected young people back into the fold.

The predecessor of the current embryonic anti-draft movement has been the "anti-nuke" movement. In developing this movement, the bosses have trotted out their bevy of political and entertainment stars to marshall young people for bigger and better things. Many of these forces, from Kennedy to Fonda, will be used to organize young people to oppose the draft now, **but not to oppose the system. These mass killers are wolves in sheep's clothing, only lining up the youth for their own purpose of holding political power for their class so that they can continue to make profits.**

The bed-rock of any winning strategy to stop war and fascism must be to organize the anti-racist and revolutionary movements. In part, this means **absolutely no unity with the enemy,** or specifically, no unity with the liberals like Kennedy and his pack of revisionist (betrayers of revolution) jackals. Correspondingly, this movement must be built in alliance with the working class. This, among other things, means developing the strategy and tactics to bring this about. Any winning movement must be based on multi-racial unity. A divided force is duck soup for the bosses. Racism and nationalism must be fought tooth and nail. A good place to start this development on the campuses is to revive the campaign against the genetic bigot Jensen and his ilk.

Only this four-pronged strategy can win. Those soothsayers who claim you should only stick to the anti-draft question are deceiving you. Just ask them why this type of activity hasn't stopped war. **There is only one cause for war, and that's capitalism.** This is what the bosses and their raft of "left" fakers want to steer you away from. The choices are narrowing down. If you want to lose and die, march under the flag of the bosses and their stooges.

If you want to win, march under the flag of revolution. This is the only way to secure a future for students and workers.

By S.M.P.

Sociobiology
The Germ of Racism

In recent years, the so-called "science" of sociobiology—based on the assertion that human social behavior is at least partly determined by genes and biological evolution—has provided new support for the racist policies of the ruling class, particularly in the fields of education and employment. These theories have also been widely attacked as racist and unscientific, and the debate around them is still quite sharp. **The Sociobiological Debate** is an anthology of 32 essays on the subject, three of them by Harvard Prof. E.O. Wilson, originator of sociobiology. While the book includes a number of essays "politely critical" of sociobiology, it pointedly ignores any which sharply expose its racism.

What is the sociobiological debate? In the broadest sense it is about the causes of human nature. In a narrower, street-level sense, it is a debate over the "evidence" that genes determine both individual and social human behavior, including human values. Wilson's stated aim was to combine into one "science" sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, education, linguistics and biology, with the genes as the common, unifying element. He claims that common behaviors observed in most Western societies, such as altruism, competition, maternal care of the young, etc., have evolved through natural selection.

On the sociobiology side of the debate, the "evidence" presented that genes cause human social behavior is of two types. First, the sociobiologists assert that human social behavior is a product of biological evolution, like the scales

on fish and feathers on birds. The theory of evolution tells us that biological traits that are products of evolution are caused by genes; the converse of this theory is that traits known to be caused by genes are likewise products of evolution. The crucial point here is to determine, independently of the theory of evolution, whether or not a trait is determined by genes. It is important to recognize that **this has never been done** in the case of human behavior, whether individual or social. So the sociobiologists have no basis for saying that human social behavior is genetically determined; **they are simply lying.**

The second line of "evidence" is to compare the social behavior of other animals (ants, dung beetles, ducks, monkeys, etc.) with the social behavior of humans. The objective of this approach is to convince the reader that since ants, ducks, monkeys and humans spent part of their evolutionary history "together," their look-alike traits (social behavior) have a common evolutionary origin.

As is obvious, neither line of "evidence" is, in fact, evidence. The first approach does nothing more than borrow the theory of evolution—a good scientific theory—and use it to explain the kinds of human behavior observed in modern capitalist societies—racism, sexism, war, genocide, religion, stealing, slavery, and capitalist economics. Sociobiologists **tell us**—but never **prove** it—that these behaviors are adaptive (products of evolution) and therefore to some extent, genetic. The second line of "evidence" is no better. We are told that because prairie dogs are territorial, nationalism is a biological imperative; that "rape" among ducks is evidence that rape among humans is genetic; that war and slavery among humans is to be expected since "war" and "slavery" are found among ants. To explain racism sociobiologists invent a "gene for xenophobia"; to explain the double sex standard they invent a "gene for male promiscuity." The list of look-alike behaviors is as long as a polygamist's clothesline. All lead to the same conclusion—that humans behave as they do because long ago those of our ancestors who behaved that way left more offspring than those who didn't.

Caplan's anthology is about this debate. The book is divided into six parts plus a foreword by Wilson and an introduction by Caplan. Part I, "**Historical Forerunners of Sociobiology**," includes essays by Charles Darwin, Herbert Spencer (inventor of the aberration called Social Darwinism, which was used in Britain to rationalize imperialism and the exploitation of the poor, and in the U.S. to explain the emergence of the 19th century robber barons), and T.H. Huxley, another 19th century "giant" who concluded from biological "facts" that Africans are inferior to Europeans. Part II, "**Animal Behavior and Morality**," includes an essay by Konrad Lorenz, who praised Hitler for building nationalism around a racial ideal, joined the Nazi Party, and was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1972 for "pioneering work" on the biological basis of animal behavior. There is also an essay by Niko Tinbergen who shared the Nobel Prize with Lorenz but took a more liberal view of human potential and the role of social practice in shaping human behavior.

Part III, **Biology, Human Nature, and Ethical Theory**, and Part IV, **The Biology of Sociobiology**, bring us closer to the "modern synthesis" championed by Wilson. Some of these essays strike at the heart of sociobiological theory. W.D. Hamilton's "The Genetic Evolution of Social Behavior" deals with sociobiology's major theoretical weapon, **kin selection** (defined later). Robert Trivers jumps from kin selection to **reciprocal altruism** (if you'll scratch my back I'll scratch yours) and then to "bioeconomics," the "biological basis of commodity exchange" (woe to the socialists, for little do they realize that socialism goes against our genes!). Wilson, whose book, **Sociobiology: The New Synthesis** ignited the modern debate, sets out to unify all that is known about animal and human behavior. Only months after Wilson's book was published he was awarded the President's Science Medal. When Wilson's book **On Human Nature** appeared, it promptly won the 1979 Pulitzer Prize. Obviously the ruling class likes what he has to say!

Part V, **The Contemporary Debate,** explains what Caplan means by presenting both sides of the debate. The essays include discussion of the evolution of behavior, arguments for and against sociobiology, and the social and philosophical implications as well as some alternatives to sociobiology. Those who cannot see past the modern university setting might conclude that Caplan has provided a little something for everyone. But in the real world it is not difficult to see that Caplan has not in-

cluded past and present **victims** of determinist theories of human nature, that is, the victims of racism, sexism, elitism and professionalism. Caplan also leaves out any essays by the numerous academic critics of sociobiology such as InCAR.

Part VI, **Extensions, Implications, and Critiques of Sociobiology**, will interest those who want to analyze the character and methods of bourgeois science. Some of the essays are critical of scientific methods, and specifically the methods used to construct sociobiology; a few of the essays actually deal with the relationship between scientific method and scientific conclusions. **None** of the essays compare the methodology of modern bourgeois science with dialectical materialism. **None** of the essays attack the ruling class lies that science is neutral and separate from social affairs, and that science is objective in its quest for truth. Once again, no real balance—much less any pretense of objectivity—is provided.

It is in the interests of the working class to expose these lies.

All of the conclusions of the 19th century Social Darwinists and the 20th century IQ psychologists and sociobiologists are alike in one important respect—they all seek to prove that social progress is limited by defects in individuals, particularly of individuals in the working class. These "sciences"—really pseudo-sciences—never discover economic or political defects in capitalist societies, particularly in the arrangements between social classes. Instead they first attack the victims of ruling class oppression, and then staunchly defend the social status quo—contemporary imperialist capitalism. So far the two most popular "theories" of how the social status quo came into being are: a) God wanted it that way; and b) our genes wanted it that way. They are basically the same, and equally **false** and **fascist**.

Social Darwinism was used by all capitalist ruling classes in the 19th century to explain the rise and fall of civilizations and the class nature of capitalist societies. Herbert Spencer, the inventor of Social Darwinism, perverted the concept of Darwinian fitness to say, for example, that England became the dominant imperialist power by natural decree, i.e., the **survival of the fittest**. The Darwinian concept of "fitness" was never intended to serve such a purpose. What it literally means is this: those individuals who leave the most progeny are the fittest. "Fitness" refers to reproductive success, nothing more and nothing less. But Spencer wasn't one to be precise when it came time to defend his own privileges and those of the ruling class who promoted him. So he gave fitness a new meaning: "survival of the fittest" according to him meant the biological inevitability not only of capitalism, but also of the social roles (class roles) within capitalism. As we see later in this essay, many modern sociobiologists adopt the ideology of Spencer without so much as saying "thank you."

Spencer wasn't the first to develop a biological explanation for ruling class privilege; Thomas Malthus beat him to the tape by 50 years and the "Skull size anthropologists" beat him by a good 20 years. Nor was he the last, as evidenced by E.O. Wilson and sociobiology 130 years later. However, Social Darwinism, eugenics (improvement of the "human stock" by breeding and selection), I.Q. psychology and modern sociobiology must not be viewed as the work of mad scientists who harbor sinister desires to see working class people suffer. We too easily forget that the class in power determines the ideological diet to be fed the oppressed class. Within capitalist societies it is the capitalists who enjoy privilege, who own and control the means of production, and who make superprofits from exploiting workers and workers' families. It is the capitalists who control the state, including the schools and the universities, and it is the capitalists who ultimately influence what scientists learn and what they do, and who are in a position to bestow special rewards on those who produce useful ideas, with or without data. Indeed, the ruling classes often field teams of thousands of scientists, thereby increasing the chances of turning up super-useful ideas. Among those who have been amply rewarded for their efforts are those who have contributed to the racist ideology of human nature, including Spencer, Francis Galton, Charles Davenport, Lewis Terman, Cyril Burt, Arthur Jensen, Hans Eysenck, Richard Herrnstein, Wilson, and now a new flock of lackies including David Barash, Pierre van den Burgh, Robert Trivers and Irwin DeVore.

All of these pseudo-scientists, and thousands who, like them, are seeking high social status, enjoy some of the

privileges of the big bourgeoisie. Is it all that surprising that they would adopt and contribute "fine adjustments" to the ideology of the bourgeoisie? Of course not. They know which side their bread is buttered on. They also know what to "look for" in their quest to satiate their "scientific curiosity." Indeed, there is an old adage invented for this slavish mentality. "I wouldn't have seen it if I hadn't believed it." When the bourgeoisie needs an up-dated theory of class structure and class oppression, it is obvious to many so-called "scientists" just what to come up with. In comparing modern sociobiology with 19th century Social Darwinism, we shall see that nothing new has been discovered at all. It's just old baloney in new casings.

A Modern Pedigree Chart of Sociobiology

The October 24, 1976 issue of the London **Times** carried an article exposing Sir Cyril Burt as a scientific fraud. Burt was an IQ psychologist, the only one to have been knighted by English royalty. Burt was hailed the world over for his "contributions" to research and a theory of intelligence (which was not created by him, but was borrowed fairly directly from Francis Galton) that is, Burt believed that heredity determines intelligence and that individuals differ in the numbers and kinds of intelligence genes they possess. This was his theory. His research consisted of faking and doctoring data, publishing papers with non-existent co-workers, and propagandizing both the public and scientists to accept his "self-evident" theory.

Burt was knighted by the British ruling class for his contributions which consisted of developing a school "tracking" system based on IQ scores. He insisted that more than 80% of IQ score variation within the population is determined by genetic differences among people and that, therefore, it should be possible to track students toward educational goals that correspond closely to their genetic potential for learning. The tracking system developed by Burt is popularly known as the Eleven-plus tracking system (students between the ages of 11 and 12 take an examination that determines whether they will attend grammar (academic) school or a trade school).*

* For the most recent exposure of Burt's fakery, see *The Cyril Burt Question: New Findings*, by D.D. Dorfman, *Science*, Sept. 29, 1978.

RACISM INTELLIGENCE AND THE WORKING CLASS

Working class intelligence: Baltimore sanitationmen strikers, hang union misleaders in effigy.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR PAMPHLET 50¢

In 1972, this pamphlet exposed Jensen's anti-scientific manipulations. To order copies, use coupon on page 64.

Even bourgeois scientists are forced to admit that all of Burt's "research" was simply and deliberately **faked**. The Progressive Labor Party and the International Committee Against Racism played the leading role in the "discovery" of Burt's shenanigans. This came about first as an attack upon Arthur Jensen, an educational psychologist at Berkeley, who had worked with Burt and who adapted Burt's research to say that U.S. blacks possess fewer intelligence genes than whites. In 1972, PLP published a large pamphlet, **Racism, Intelligence and the Working Class**, exposing not only the racist nature of Jensen's story but also the anti-scientific manipulations he used to support it. In addition to exposing this scientific racism in print, PLP and InCAR led many direct attacks upon the public addresses of Jensen and his gaggle of apologists, Richard Herrnstein, William Shockley, Dwight Engle and Hans Eysenck. All of this attracted the attention of geneticists and psychologists, some of whom examined the primary

papers of Burt, leading to his exposure. Leon Kamin of Princeton was a principal contributor to Burt's exposure. Kamin, an ex-Communist Party member, is afraid to attack Burt or Jensen politically and is intensely anti-communist today.

Jensen set off the most recent IQ psychology furor in January, 1969, with an article "How much can we boost IQ and scholastic achievement?" that appeared in the **Harvard Educational Review.** His answer to the rhetorical title question was, "very little." He claimed that low intelligence inhibits certain people from benefitting from educational opportunities, and that, since low intelligence is caused by genes, there isn't much we can do about it. His main conclusion was clear: there is no sense wasting tax money trying to educate the uneducable.

The basic "IQ Argument" used by Jensen and his apologists goes like this. IQ tests measure intelligence; IQ is a major determinant of success; IQ score variation in the population is caused mainly (80%) by genetic differences among people; and mean scores of different races and social classes are caused by genes. Each of the premises of the IQ argument has been soundly refuted (see **Biology As a Social Weapon**).

Using the "data" and conclusions of Jensen (much of which Jensen borrowed from Burt) William Shockley proposed a sterilization plan for all people with an IQ below 100, in which the state was to pay the victims $1000 per IQ point below 100. He "promised" that within three generations the cost of welfare, prisons and mental hospitals would be close to zero. The proposal went first to Ronald Reagan, then governor of California, and next to dozens of legislators and school board members living in the Southeastern U.S. Reagan hailed Shockley as a genius.

During the same year (1971) Hans Eysenck of Britain published **The IQ Argument: Race, Intelligence and Education.** This book "explains" why the Irish in Ireland are less intelligent than the Irish in the U.S. and why U.S. blacks are less intelligent than African blacks. Eysenck says that at the time of the potato famine, in Ireland, the smart people left for New York while the dumb people remained bog peasants. He also says that during the slave trade the dumb Africans got caught while the smart ones got away. This not only is a sick apology for ruling class oppression, it is scientific balderdash! There isn't a shred of evidence for any of the comparisons, nor can there be since no IQ test can span the cultural bridge between Ireland and Boston, between Angola and Harlem, or between 1848 and 1979.

Also in 1971, a paper appeared in the **Atlantic Monthly** entitled, "IQ." Its author was Richard Herrnstein, a behavioral psychologist at Harvard. (This paper was expanded into a book, **IQ In The Meritocracy**). Herrnstein didn't even bother to present data, cooked or raw. He relied upon his powers of persuasion to rationalize his social theory and these "powers" led to the conclusion that the class and professional structure of society results from the migration of people toward the top, at rates and distances restricted by their IQ's, that is by their genes. Herrnstein actually anticipated aspects of sociobiology in his argument that social hierarchies arise from the "externalization of inherent wisdom," not from the internalization of ruling class ideology.

Herrnstein excreted the view that the "revolution" of 1776 was possible because at that time the oppressed classes possessed some fair share of intelligence genes. This was, he said, because the feudal meritocracy was maintained by ownership not by ability; ownership prevented migration from one class to another. For this reason, he says, the lower classes possessed the ability to overthrow the upper classes. However, since 1776 our society has experienced 200 years of "equal opportunity," and equal opportunity permits the migration of good genes from the lower to the upper classes, thereby depleting the lower classes of the genetic ability to stage another revolution. There can be no doubt but that Herrnstein's pap pleased the owners and managers of Harvard. Derek Bok, Harvard Univ. President, personally congratulated Herrnstein when his 1971 article was published, while WQXR, "the radio station of the **New York Times,**" read it out in its entirety in August, 1971. In 1973-4 an article by Herrnstein was made part of a compulsory "newspaper college course" printed in hundreds of daily papers in the U.S.A.

At the same time, it displeased a goodly number of workers and students who, with leadership from InCAR and the PLP, buried this garbage in less

than four years.

The idea that IQ tests measure intelligence, and that genes determine it, suffered defeat by 1975. Both Shockley and Herrnstein had been exposed as racist charlatans, and Jensen had retreated to the drawing board. The exposure of Burt's quackery in 1976 further delapidated Jensen's landing pad. A temporary victory has been won by a dedicated and disciplined worker-student alliance following communist leadership.

But it is incorrect to conclude that IQ psychology is dead and buried. It isn't. Such reforms cannot be permanent as long as the ruling class is able to bounce back. Indeed, we can expect biological determinism to reappear, sometimes in new dress and sometimes not, as long as the capitalist class remains the primary aspect of the contradiction between bosses and workers.* This means, of course, that the struggle against scientific racism must be revolutionary in character... that is, our main enemy is the ruling class, not its lackeys; and, those anti-racists who will join the fight against academic racists must be won to extend the fight until the class that supports them is smashed.

SOCIOBIOLOGY TO THE RESCUE:

Just as the IQ psychologists were being "ushered" offstage, the ruling class trotted out a new troupe. Sociobiology "came out" in August, 1975. It "came out" in a huge book entitled, **Sociobiology: The New Synthesis**, written by E.O. Wilson, a Harvard entomologist (he's an ant man), and published by the Harvard University Press. **However, there is more to "coming out" than is obvious from the mere publication of a scientific book. Only rarely is the publication of a scientific book followed by acres of space in the New York Times, Time Magazine, television, and the slick porn magazines. It is this ruling class reaction to a scientific work that ushers in popular reaction, that is, a "coming out." In December, 1978, Dick Cavett gave three nights running to Wilson and sociobiology; in August, 1978, Playboy Magazine carried a lengthy admonition for men not to give up their sexism because to do so is like running uphill against 6 million years of evolution; and on and on.**

*. For example *Fortune* magazine (Feb. 12, 1979) recently proclaimed its *faith* in Burt's conclusions and attacked those who denounce Burt's fraud.

Sociobiology is easier to publicize than IQ psychology mainly because it doesn't require the translation of complex scientific data. The IQ psychologists did present data, although they faked it. But sociobiology has **no** data, cooked or uncooked. The entire story is a web of historic racist and sexist prejudices spun around the theory of evolution. We should not, however, put the blame on the theory of evolution, a good theory as judged by the many scientific hypotheses that have been generated by it. But the sociobiology web is another thing altogether. It is a rehash of racist, sexist, elitist ruling class ideology, including the lie that social change is slow because biological forces, not political, economic and social forces, determine social structures.

As stated earlier, the sociobiology argument is based upon (1) the assertion that social behavior is adaptive, and (2) analogies between human and other animal behavior. If animal social behavior is adaptive, then it must be caused by genes, according to the theory of evolution. In order to get the hang of this part of the argument consider the puzzle that Darwin tried to solve. Darwin observed, for example, that one female oyster will lay about one million eggs per season. He reasoned that if 90% of the eggs turned into adult oysters the earth would be 6 feet under oysters in no time at all. Therefore, of the one million only a few survive. The question was, which ones? Darwin both observed and postulated that each baby oyster is unique in one or more tiny ways, and that, therefore, each reacts to the environment around it in a slightly different way. He summarized this idea by saying that each oyster possesses a slightly different survival potential, or, said another way, each will possess a different capacity for reproductive success.

Those oyster traits that survive this "test" of natural selection are said to be adaptive. And today it is held by those who study evolution that for a trait to be adaptive the following three conditions must exist: 1) differences within the population must exist, e.g. individuals within the population must differ in size, shape, physiology or behavior; 2) the differences must be inherited according to the known laws of genetics, as has been shown to be the case with sickle cell anemia and PKU(phenylketonuria); and 3) the differences must

lead to differential reproductive success, —persons with sickle cell anemia and PKU have fewer children than their non-anemic and non-PKU brothers and sisters.

In the case of human behavior, conditions 2 and 3 have never been proven to exist! Indeed, **there are no known examples of genes that determine the various kinds of so-called normal behavior, nor is there evidence that different types of normal behavior are differentially reproductively successful.** Many sociobiology backers admit that the scientific evidence is lacking; a few admit that the subject of human social behavior is so very complex that it is unlikely that such evidence will be obtained in our lifetime. At the same time the wild speculation is justified on the grounds that sociobiology is "so very interesting." This is the lie. **Sociobiology exists not because it is "so very interesting" but because of its value to the ruling class.** Without ruling class backing the scientific and lay communities would have long since let sociobiology die.

No one has found wholesale banks with imperialist tentacles among ant populations.

But, if you think it strange to argue that we behave the way we do because those of our ancestors who behaved that way were reproductively successful, consider the even stranger argument that our behavior is genetic because other animals behave that way. For example, it is suggested by sociobiologists that since ants wage war, steal from one another and possess slaves, that war, burglary and slavery in human populations are genetically determined!

The theory of evolution does in fact help us to understand in what ways different species of plants and animals are related. For example, it is possible to show that the front legs of dogs, the wings of bats, and the arms of humans arose from modifications of a common ancestral structure. Not only do we find historical evidence for this, but it is also possible to observe the developmental events, in the embryos of dogs, bats and humans, where it is seen that front legs, wings and arms arise from the same fetal tissues and structures. Structures and tissues that have a common evolutionary origin are said to be "homologous."

But the wings of a fly and the wings of a bat are **not** homologous. Not only do flies and bats have different evolutionary histories, but also very different developmental stages. For this reason, the wings of bats and flies are said to be "analogous," which means they serve similar functions even though they have separate evolutionary origins. The concepts of "homology" and "analogy" are important to the analysis of sociobiology, since its argument rests on the assumption that war and slavery among ants is homologous to war and slavery among humans—an assumption for which there is neither historical nor embryological evidence!

In fact, there is **no** evidence that war and slavery among ants is even analogous to war and slavery among humans. No one has discovered the existence of wholesale banks with imperialist tenacles among ant populations. But don't be surprised when you read of it in the **Times**, because sociobiologists are noted for "finding" exactly what they need for spinning their webs. As evidence in support of this accusation, consider the mental agility needed for their "discovery" of "rape" in mallard ducks, "prostitution" among humming-birds, "war," "slavery," and "burglary" in ants, "muscle beach parties" among male damselfish, "chastity belts" used by parasitic acanthocephalan worms (the semen of the male contains a glue that seals the vagina of the female, making it impossible for another male to inseminate her until after her eggs have been laid), "punishment" of promiscuous females by irate male mountain bluebirds, "oral sex" among the cichid fishes (the eggs are fertilized in the mouth of the female, where, in fact, the young fishes remain until they are partially grown), and so on.

All of these traits "discovered" in non-human animals were first "discovered" among humans. The names given to the traits are human words, and were

derived from human cultures. There is absolutely no reason to assume that burglary among ants is recognized as such by ants (perhaps they are ants buying on credit, the scheme of which has not been noticed by sociobiologists!). But even more anti-scientific than this **anthropomorphosis** (endowing non-human subjects) with human traits is the assignment of genes to the human traits based upon the assertion that the look-a-like traits in ants and bluebirds are caused by genes. The human "gene for xenophobia" (hating strangers) is said to "explain" racism; the "gene for male promiscuity" is said to "explain" sexism; the "gene for territoriality" is said to "explain" nationalism. To illustrate how brazen they are as they play their intellectual games, consider the following quotes by van den Burgh and Barash in the scholarly journal **American Anthropologist**.

> In all human societies, there is a clear asymmetry and complementarity of gender roles, one salient aspect of which is parental care. Human females, as typical mammals, invest more in their offspring than males . . . Human females, as good mammals who produce few, costly, and therefore precious, offspring, are choosy about picking mates who will contribute maximally to their offspring's fitness, whereas males, whose production of offspring is virtually unlimited, are much less picky. Hence, the widespread occurrence in human societies of polygyny, hypergamy, and double standards of sexual morality. There is another related reason for the sexual double standard in such things as differential valuation of male and female. . . infidelity of the spouse can potentially reduce the fitness of the husband more than that of the wife. Women stand to lose much less if their husbands have children out of wedlock than vice-versa. This situation is not unique to humans. Male ringdoves show less courtship and more aggression toward females whose behavior indicates that they have been courted, and possibly mated, by another male . . .
>
> Fathers are typically far choosier and critical of whom their daughters consort with, than is the case with their sons. Sons sow "wild oats"; daughters run the risk of being "ruined," i.e., inseminated by an unfit male, and thereby made undesirable to a fit one."

Notice here the sociobiologists have just "proven" the genetic basis of sexism.

> Kin-selection theory* also provides a parsimonious way of accounting for nepotistic behavior and its various extensions to larger groups of putative or real descent, such as tribalism, racism, ethnocentrism, parochialism, nationalism, patriotism, or what sociologists generically call "particularism." Favoritism toward real or putative kin has been observed in practically all societies, and most societies seem to take it for granted. Some modern industrial societies, and a few agrarian societies like Imperial China, have attempted to combat various forms of particularism, such as racism, and ethnic or caste prejudice, and have tried to institutionalize impersonal norms of universalism in their bureaucratic organizations, but nearly all such attempts have been insidiously and systematically subverted from within. Nepotism triumphs in the end, and most societies have been realistic enough not to try to stamp it out.

Notice how they have "proven" that opposition to racism and nationalism is futile.

If a critic brewed a concoction like this for the purpose of refuting sociobiology, he would be met with scorn and laughter. The statements are presented as fact, without a hint of supporting evidence; the analogies are made between human sexual behavior and sexual behavior of other animals; human words, designed to describe human behavior, are applied to the behavior of other animals (anthropomorphosis). This gives you the flavor of the "scientific" integrity of the really far-out sociobiologists. Others differ only by degree.

Before leaving the argument that human social behavior is, like arms and wings, the outcome of the evolutionary process,

* For a more detailed explanation of *kin selection*, see the review of Sahlin's *Use and Abuse of Biology* on page 28 of this issue.

a word must be said about "kin selection" The concept of kin selection must be understood within the context of Darwinian fitness, which is measured by reproductive success. That is, within large populations individuals differ from one another genetically, and not all genetic types are equally successful, as measured by the frequency of their genes in the next generation." Fitness" note, is not a value judgment nor an ethical term; it is a statement of reproductive inequality.

We now understand that individuals within populations differ from one another because genes mutate. Similarly we understand that reproductive inequality results from natural selection. Some genes contribute to, and some inhibit, reproduction. For the most part biologists accept the premise that natural selection acts upon individuals, and that individuals do, or do not reproduce. It is this concept of evolution that sociobiologists have changed by adding kin selection to fitness, thereby coming up with a new term, "inclusive fitness." "Inclusive fitness" is defined as Darwinian fitness plus kin selection. Now let's examine why it is necessary to probe kin selection in order to understand sociobiology.

Kin selection was invented to explain what sociobiologists call a "weakness" in Darwinian fitness. According to Dar - win, it is easy to explain aggressive acts, but difficult to explain altruistic acts. If one is to survive it is often necessary to do so at another's expense, while if one stops to help another survival may be endangered. Notice here that they simply refuse to even **consider** culture, sociality and learning. The sociobiologists are **assuming** the truths of what they are attempting to prove—a circular argument of an elementary kind. They assume that, for example, "altruism" **cannot** be explained by learning, and so **must** be explainable by some genetic mechanism. So in order to "explain" altruism kin selection was invented. Kin selection tells us that individuals will perform altruistic acts for their kin because, in doing so, copies of genes like their own will be passed on to succeeding generations, not through self but through brothers, sisters, nieces and nephews. (We each share half our genes with our brothers and sisters, one eighth with our nieces and nephews, etc.) One theorist predicts that in sexually promiscuous societies men will tend to spend more time caring for their sisters' children than for the children of their spouses, not knowing their paternal origins, thus insuring the perpetuation of "self-genes."

The defeat of Hitler's "Master Race" army by Soviet workers was no genetic accident. Socialist revolution will be no accident either.

The "logical" extension of kin selection speculation is to believe that natural selection acts directly upon genes, not upon individuals. This means that the genes in each of us somehow recognize themselves in our kin. From this it is said that people are nothing but gene machines—"people are the genes' way of making more genes." Trivers speculated that genes are able to carry out their own designs because they have programmed human brains to be metaphysical, as opposed to materialist. That is, brains perceive only abstractions, not material reality, and therefore brains cannot subvert the strategies of genes.* **There isn't a shred of evidence that natural selection acts directly upon genes. There is, on the other hand, a great deal of evidence that different societies present very different models of kin relationships.**

* Anyone who has the stomach for it can read all about this in *The Selfish Gene* by Richard Dawkins of Oxford; Trivers wrote the book's introduction.

DO GENES DETERMINE RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND ETHICAL DRIVES?

As the essays in Caplan's anthology show, E.O. Wilson is doing his best to convince us that ethical and religious feelings are biological in origin. But Caplan himself says that Wilson "fails, ultimately, to provide answers that will put the minister or philosopher out of business." But an even more direct criticism of Wilson's attempt to show that genes are responsible for human values is made by James M. Gustafson of the University of Chicago Divinity School. He says of Wilson's **On Human Nature**:

> **On Human Nature** is the secular equivalent of a systematic theology. Among its tenets are a causal explanation of life equivalent in function to a doctrine of creation, a statement of the ultimate meaning of life; proposals about the "ontological" foundations of morality, thus a theory of ethics; judgments about the nature of "human fault" or "faults," and thus the basis for a doctrine of sin; proposals for remedying these faults, thus a doctrine of redemption; discernment of a vision of the future and the grounds for human hope, thus an eschatology; and a critique of alternative explanations of life, thus what theologians call apologetics. One might even find embedded here a doctrine of a 'church,' thus those who know the way to 'salvation.'

Gustafson also suggests "that some deeply religious impulse motivates **On Human Nature** even though its basic principle requires negative judgments about many aspects of the Western moral and religious tradition." However cutting and devastating as these criticisms of sociobiology are, we cannot be lulled into accepting the metaphysical camp from which they come. Gustafson does not tell us either the origin or the uses of "religious impulses," yet we don't have to look far to see just how they are orchestrated by those who own and control the state. Religious impulses have fronted for capitalism since day one, and all such impulses lead to the same end; namely, that the social status quo is fore-ordained. Besides, Gustafson would probably make the same kind of statement about Marxism-Leninism, or any other philosophy he sees as a threat to theology.

We should not be surprised to witness science striving for those domains of human sociality formerly claimed by the church. There has always been competition between scientists and clerics as to which should be the court jester. For nearly 150 years the scientists have gained ground. Sociobiology illustrates why. It touches every aspect of our social lives, including hating, fighting, stealing and greed (selfishness); and loving, cooperation, giving and generosity (altruism). That is, sociobiology is about ethics since selfishness is value-bad and altruism is value-good. There is a feeble attempt by some sociobiologists to translate their "science" into an objective enterprise, but the only way this is done is to **assert** that genes are neither good nor bad even though they are selfish. Again we see this attempt as intellectual gamesmanship, in that the only way for selfish genes to cause altruistic behavior is to assert that altruism arises from "trans-ethical" selfishness.

This "logic" serves little purpose except to hide their true motive: to endow genes with personhood. What other conclusion can we make when we learn that genes are not only selfish but gregarious, deadly rivals, happy, loyal, ruthless, etc., and that genes cause people to be patriotic, racist, trade unionist, sexist, or in favor of capital punishment?

Clearly such "logic" is of value to those whose self interests are best served by maintaining the **status quo**. But there is yet another value, and that is to the sociobiologists themselves. The theory of evolution is a valid theory, but in most cases still lacks the predictive power scientists want from theories. In fact, the concept of Darwinian fitness is historical, meaning that evolution is a **retrodictive** theory. What is wanted is a better **predictive** theory, one that permits the biologist to easily formulate hypotheses that can be submitted to experimental testing. What sociobiologists have done to "improve" upon the old theory is to change the meaning of biological fitness to correspond to the meaning of selfishness. This bit of magic permits them to "predict" human behavior, not by predicting which environments favor which behaviors, as Darwinians would evolution, but from the characteristics of selfish genes. Selfish genes "logically" lead to racism, male promiscuity, sexism, and nationalism . . .

in any and all environments, according to the sociobiologists. This is among the grossest of scientific perversions emanating from sociobiology.

As we follow the trail set by Wilson in search of genes that determine human values, we find that religion, philosophy, ethics and politics are all part of a biological capacity to explain and act in behalf of self. The trail is muddy. Consider one of Wilson's essays, "**Academic Vigilantism and the Political Significance of Sociobiology**" (Part V, p 291). In this essay Wilson responds to attacks by Science for the People (SFTP) and InCAR . SFTP formed a "Sociobiology Study Group" which produced several criticisms of sociobiology, and of Wilson. (Two of these are in the Caplan anthology, Part V, p. 280, and Part VI, p. 476.) Clearly Wilson doesn't like the SFTP criticisms, as evidenced by his stating "The issue at hand, I submit, is vigilantism: the judgment of a work of science according to whether it conforms to the political convictions of the judges, who are self-appointed. The sentence for scientists found guilty is to be given a label and to be associated with past deeds that all decent persons will to the political convictions of the judges, who are self-appointed. The sentence for scientists found guilty is to be given a label and to be associated with past deeds that all decent persons will find repellent." (The past deeds Wilson refers to are "the enactment of sterilization laws and restrictive immigration laws by the United States between 1910 and 1930 and also for the eugenics policies which led to the establishment of gas chambers in Nazi Germany.") SFTP charged: "Wilson joins the long parade of biological determinists whose work has served to buttress the institutions of their society by exonerating them from responsibility for social problems."

Later in the same essay Wilson says that all of the biologists and social scientists except for those in SFTP understood the book correctly. "None has read a reactionary political message into it..." According to Wilson the correct reading of his book embodies his own statement of motive... "In my book human sociobiology was approached tentatively and in a taxonomic rather than a political spirit." This, by the way, is almost identical to the rationalizations presented by Spencer, Galton, Terman, Burt, Jensen, Herrnstein, Eysenck and the prison guards at Auschwitz.

As Wilson goes through his point-by-point rebuttal of the SFTP criticisms, he presents a few arguments to show that SFTP is a collection of hypocrites and pseudo-scientists. He was apparently upset by one of them who wrote a letter to the **Harvard Crimson** on Dec. 3, 1975, stating that "Sociobiology is not a racist doctrine" but that "any kind of genetic determinism can and does feed other kinds, including the belief that some races are superior to others." (That SFTP statement is wrong; sociobiology emphatically is a racist doctrine!)

Then Wilson goes on: "The latter argument is identical to that advanced simultaneously by student members of the Harvard-Radcliffe Committee Against Racism, who, citing the SFTP statement for authority, did not hesitate to label the book "dangerously racist" in leaflets distributed through the Boston area. Both the logic and the accusation were false and hurtful, and at this point the matter was close to getting out of hand." (If your eyes are getting wet, don't read on.) "On various occasions and with only limited success the Harvard faculty has attempted to protect itself from activities of this kind. During an earlier, similar episode (could it have been Herrnstein?) 100 of its members published a statement that 'In an academic community the substitution of personal harassment for reasoned inquiry is intolerable. The open-minded search for truth cannot proceed in an atmosphere of political intimidation.' This is the melancholy principle which has been confirmed by the exchange now extended to **Bioscience** (SFTP published a criticism of Wilson in this widely-read journal). In the Boston area at the present time it has become difficult to conduct an open forum on human sociobiology, or even general sociobiology, without falling into the role of either prosecutor or defendant."

The Harvard dons said that "the open-minded search for truth cannot proceed in an atmosphere of political intimidation." Are they, at long last, admitting that the "truth" was lost when the ruling class intimidated the working class as the sanitation laws during the 19th century were delayed, or during the long process of prolonging slavery, or during the maintenance of racism and sexism today? At what time in the history of industrial

Chicago workers beat uniformed Nazi in 1978. The ravings of the academic racists provide the ideological underpinnings for the "master race" mouthings of these vermin and their capitalist bosses.

capitalism have the oppressed not been politically intimidated? Wilson pleads only for his own case; he isn't in the slightest interested in any but his own point of view. And he will fight for it. Just as we communists must fight for our point of view.

In the following quote from Wilson we see not only the class interests he intends to preserve but also the ideology with which he intends to make his defense:

> Finally and briefly, let me express what I consider to be the real significance of human sociobiology for political and social thought. The question that science is now in a position to approach is the very origin of meaning of human values, from which all ethical pronouncements and much of political practice flow. Philosophers themselves have not explored the problem; traditional ethical philosophy begins with premises that are examined with reference to their consequences but not their origins. Thus, John Rawls opened his celebrated **A Theory of Justice** (1971) with a proposition he regards as beyond dispute: 'In a just society the liberties of equal citizenship are taken as settled; the rights secured by justice are not subject to political bargaining or to the calculus of social interests.' Robert Nozick launches his equally celebrated **Anarchy, State, and Utopia** (1974) with a similarly firm proposition: 'Individuals have rights, and there are things no person or group may do to them (without violating their rights). So strong and far-reaching are these rights that they raise the question of what, if anything, the state and its officials may do.'

Wilson's analysis of these "celebrated" philosophers is as follows:

> These two premises are somewhat different in content, and they lead to radically different prescriptions. Rawls would allow rigid social control to secure as close an approach as possible to the equal distribution of society's rewards. Nozick sees the ideal society as one governed by a minimal state, empowered only to protect its citizens from force and fraud, and with unequal distribution of rewards wholly permissible. Rawls rejects the meritocracy; Nozick accepts it as desirable except in those cases

where local communities voluntarily decide to experiment with egalitarianism.

And now, Wilson's profound question:

> Whether in conflict or agreement, where do such fundamental premises come from? What lies behind the **intuition** on which they are based? Contemporary philosophers have progressed no further than Sophocles' Antigone, who said of moral imperatives, They were not born today or yesterday; they die not, and none knoweth whence they sprung.'

Well, there you have it. Wilson has made the first breakthrough since Sophocles, beating not only the world's best entomologists, but also the world's best philosophers to the punch, namely! these "fundamental premises" have their origin in the genes! And he acquired this insight without so much as giving a thought to the history of class struggle, control of the state by the capitalist class, or the use of racism and sexism to weaken and divide the working class. Not a word about working class fightback, multiracial unity, or even the historic emergence of the oppressed classes. Indeed, Wilson arrived at these heights without even using much of bourgeois science, and by violating every principle of scientific reasoning and evidence.

Our class must also recognize the difference between bourgeois science and dialectical materialism.

What, Wilson has done, however, is to swallow modern capitalist ideology hook, line and sinker, and then prop it up with a modified version of Darwin's theory of evolution. And because this is precisely why the bourgeoisie supports a cadre of scientists—to maintain their social status by any means possible—we are not surprised that the bourgeoisie has bestowed upon him a few extra privileges and rewards. As they say at retirement banquets, "He has served well."

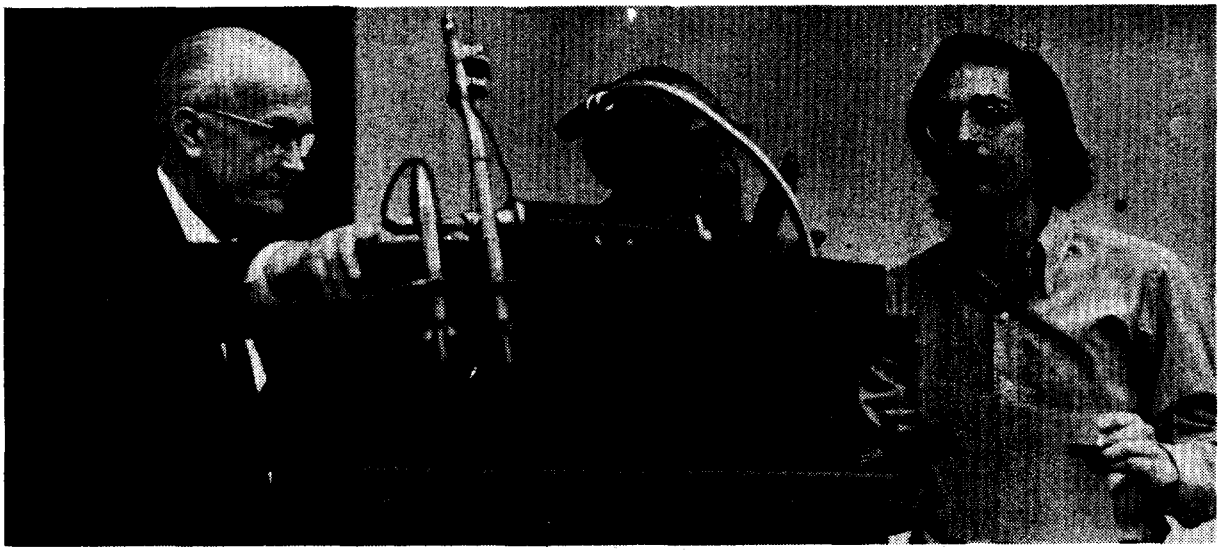
WHAT IS THE OTHER SIDE OF THE DEBATE?

Caplan includes within his anthology **only** those aspects of the Sociobiological Debate that are **permitted within and by the bourgeois class.** Indeed, those aspects of the debate included within the anthology are permitted because they will help to sharpen that position. **Nothing** is included that represents the interests of the working class. This is understandable since the capitalist class recognizes the seriousness of their war with the working class.

Our class, the working class, must also recognize the seriousness of war. We also must recognize the various weapons used in class war. To ignore these weapons is to be blinded to the primary aspect of the Sociobiological Debate, that is, to its ideological value to the ruling class. The strictly scientific aspects of the debate, including scientific methodology and theory, are secondary. It was with ideology that millions of German people were prepared to exterminate Jews and communists and to engage in a life and death struggle for the world. And central to that ideology was the "scientific" evidence that "Aryans" are the master race, and that all others must be made to serve or be killed. Such ideology extends to scientists as well, even to those who know that the "evidence" is phony.

Our class must also recognize the difference between bourgeois and working class science, that is, between bourgeois science and dialectical materialism. These two kinds of science are as antagonistically opposed as are profits and wages. Bourgeois science is the study of the status quo, or non-motion, and dialectical materialism is the study of motion. The ruling class tries to convince us that social systems are, and should be, stable. Stability is clearly in their interest, but stability is not the primary characteristic of matter, or of societies. The working class, on the other hand, must understand the laws of motion, change, emergence and decline ...for it is in the interests of workers

PLP, InCAR Lead Fight Against Racists



Progressive Labor Party member takes the podium, confronting racist Shockley at a Chicago forum. PLP and InCAR have been the leaders in fighting back against pseudo-scientific racists and their theories.

It is no exaggeration to say that we in the Progressive Labor Party, together with our brothers and sisters in the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR), were the most important factor in the retreat of Jensenism on campuses during the 1970's. This was because we understood then, as we do now, that these racist, fascist ideas must be combatted with force as well as in words.

In fact, by the time InCAR was organized nationally in November, 1973, most of the intellectual refutations of Jensenism had already been published. But this neo-racist garbage was still getting into textbooks and courses, although only a relative handful of academics in psychology, anthropology, etc. accepted it. The U.S. ruling class was pushing Jensenism for their own purposes. With this kind of support, it was not at all necessary for Jensen, Shockley, Herrnstein, et. al. to win over the academics. Jensen was invited to testify before Congress. He was asked to publish over 150 articles in the popular and semi-popular press explaining his ideas to the non-academic elites. He and his supporters were invited to give and to publish papers at academic conferences, while those who opposed him were silenced. In fact, the lack of acceptance of Jensenism by rank-and-file academics even helped to build him, since many non-Jensenites were misled into supporting the idea of "debating" Jensen, Shockley, & Co., and so assisting the ruling class's campaign to send these Nazis all over the country, getting a platform and first-class press coverage wherever they went.

From the first appearance of Jensen's 1969 **Harvard Educational Review** article, PLP organized to stop the racists from speaking. Jensen & Co. were physically intimidated at hundreds of scheduled speaking engagements, and forcibly stopped at dozens of them. This was crucial for several reasons:

- Jensen and Herrnstein were personally intimidated, and cut short their speaking tours for fear of being hurt.
- Our campaigns showed millions who saw or heard of them that masses of students and workers knew Jensen & Co. were no different from the Nazi pseudo-scientists who justified Hitler's genocide. Thousands were won to this position.
- Many liberal ruling-class hacks were forced to rush to the defense of these fascists, thus teaching thousands the true meaning of liberal fascism. For example, Yale Univ. President Kingman Brewster called out the State Police to defend Shockley's "free speech right." Yet this

The ruling class politicians, media bosses, and their hacks rushed to Jensen's defense, and showed millions how much they supported them. Later, they were to do the same thing for the Nazis and Ku Klux Klan.

Most important of all, PLP and InCAR discussed the need for revolution with tens of thousands of students, workers and others. We showed that there is no such thing as "freedom of speech" as long as the ruling class controls the press and the police, and pushes racism and fascism. Thousands learned that, **no matter how intellectually bankrupt these Nazi ideas are, they will always re-appear and become widespread as long as they continue to serve the interest of the ruling class.** The ruling class must, therefore, be violently overthrown. This is the only way racism can be destroyed for good—to destroy the class which profits from racism.

Today, with Jensenism on the rise again, and with "sociobiology" being pushed even more nakedly by the ruling class (and, as before, without any scientific "proof" at all), we must do the same thing. No free speech for racist "academics"; stop up their mouths with dirt!

to continue the historic emergence of all oppressed people. This is precisely what Marx had in mind when he called dialectical materialism the philosophy of the working class.

Ruling class ideology has it that bourgeois science is neutral (of class outlook) and autonomous (of political and social affairs). This ideology illustrates the neutrality of science by asserting that, for example, an atom can't know whether a Democrat or a Republican is studying it (we agree that it is difficult to distinguish between Democrats and Republicans); that atoms are atoms and anyone who cares to look at them will see the same entities. Even though this assertion is true at the level of, say, atomic charge or weight, it blinds us to the more important aspects of the atom, and that is the use to which the knowledge is applied. And the use to which knowledge of atoms is applied is determined by the class in power.

Scientific knowledge will always remain in the hands of the class in power. And such knowledge will be used both in class and imperialist wars. For example, ever since the advent of industrial capitalism the capitalist class has opposed the use of medical and health knowledge to alieviate ill health of the poor (See Alan Chase's The Legacy of Malthus for a thorough history of medical oppression of workers in 19th century England). Part of the medical oppression of workers always includes ideology, which in the hands of the ruling class is a system of ideas designed to rationalize the social status quo.

Because workers and capitalists are locked in class struggle, and because at this time the capitalist class is primary in determining the character of the struggle, it is of life and death importance for workers to know the historical and scientific theory and the strategies and tactics for waging class war. Primary to this understanding is the role of the vanguard party in whose hands must be the sharpest and most current revolutionary theory.

There is little doubt that the most important weapon the capitalists use in class war is the state. Capitalists use ideology to disguise this fact, but history shows that the state has been used by capitalists, every step of the way, to oppress, divide, harass, and murder workers. Therefore, the state is a weapon that can be used by the class in power to maintain its advantage over the other class. This is why workers under the leadership of the PLP are preparing to seize and smash the bourgeois state and build a worker's state.

In the meantime, the capitalists will continue to use the state to oppress workers. In fact, as the inter-imperialist rivalry heats up, the capitalist class will convert the state from a liberal bourgeois dictatorship to a fascist dictatorship. The transition to fascism will be accompanied by a revised ideology, along with stepped-up police terror, unemployment, job speed-ups, racist education and health care delivery systems, and so on. Key to this revised ideology will be human nature theory. Today the baton is in the hands of the sociobiologists! Anti-racist workers and students must step-up the struggle against racist ideology. Anti-racist workers and students must unite under the leadership of the revolutionary communist Progressive Labor Party.

The best way to rid the planet of pip-squeak ideologues like Wilson is to smash the class that nurtures him, and replace it with socialism. PL★

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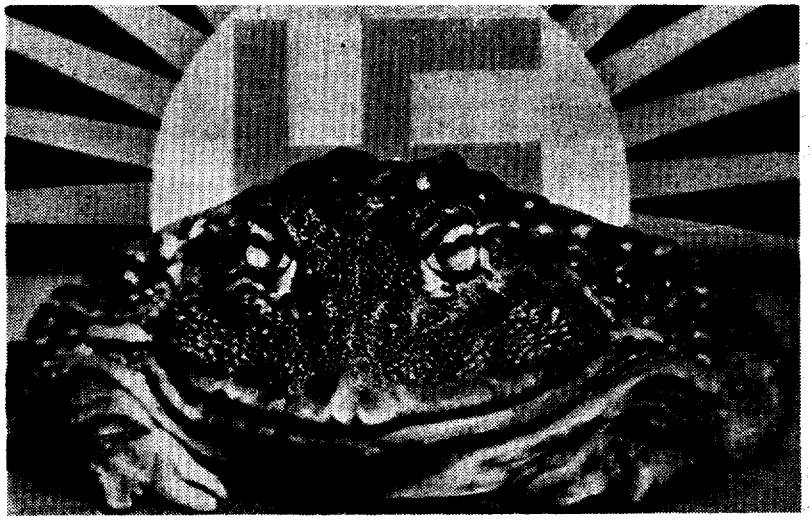
Shockley: Breeding Fascism

In Nazi Germany, Hitler's fascists decreed hundreds of millions of workers around the world to be "inferior." The blue-eyed, blond-haired, fair-complexioned "Aryans" of Germany were anointed by Hitler and the German bosses as the prototype of a new "race of supermen."

Hitler embarked on a ruthless crusade of mass extermination. Tens of millions of workers and others in Germany and the rest of Europe were slaughtered by the Nazi butchers; millions of others were used as slave labor for the Nazi war machine. However, under the leadership of the international communist movement, centered in the Soviet Union and led by Josef Stalin, the myth of Nazi invincibility was destroyed, and workers all over the world buried the notion of "inferior" and "superior" people.

Hitlerism reflected the decline of German imperialism. The German bosses imposed fascism to save their dying system. These same conditions are quickly maturing in the U.S. today, and the same sick, decadent capitalist ideas of the Hitler period are being pushed in the U.S. In the 30s and 40s, millions of U.S. workers and others were outraged by the rise of Hitlerism and its implications. U.S. workers were part of the world-wide offensive to wipe out Hitlerism forever. Millions of U.S. youth were in the armed forces; many were woulded or killed in the fight against Hitlerism.

We are continually deluged by the bosses' promotion of racist and anti-working class propaganda. This is a massive attack and insult against the millions who fought fascism. Of late, this racist assault has reached a new level. Under the leadership of the notorious racist and anti-working class figure William Shockley, plans for another "race of supermen" are being drawn. Shockley and his crew have declared—with the blessing of the ruling class—that black, Latin and working-class people of all backgrounds are "inferior." His plan is simple enough: Nobel-prizewinners (he is one) will use their sperm to impregnate "intelligent" women. This racist, anti-working class scheme is is supposed to create "gifted" offspring.



1942 photograph of William Shockley

This Hitlerite plan has already been put into action. Shockley has gathered up a number of lamebrains like himself to contribute and receive the sperm. More significant than these actions is the virulent racist and anti-working class slander being huckstered on this level and many other academic levels to pave the way for more intense oppression of all workers. The ruling class, in its rapid decline, needs to speed the way for more intense oppression of all workers. The ruling class, in its rapid decline, needs to speed up the exploitation of workers to create more profits, and ready U.S. workers for the slaughter in war between the imperialists. So if entire groups of workers are decreed by the new Nazis to be "inferior," the political rationale has been created to work them harder, pay them less, take away whatever few amenities they may have, and ship them off to the slaughter.

But the ruling class and their demented lackes are never able to learn the lessons of history. The "Thousand Year Reich" that Hitler boasted of lasted a mere twelve years. The German "supermen" were left lying in rivers of their own blood. They and their bosses were crushed by the workers of the world. Intelligence, to use that vague concept, was demonstrated by whether or not you fought Hitler and Co. If you did, you were smart as hell. If you were on the side of the Nazis, you were an animal. The must useful people of all, no matter their color or origin, were communists. Working-class ideology, Marxism-Leninism, will always obliterate bosses' ideas.

We live in both dangerous and momentous times—dangerous in the sense that if we permit the ruling class to have its way, tens of millions of workers will die unnecessarily. Lately the bosses have launched a true Hitlerite program of mass genocide in the U.S. For example, in Virginia, they have been labelling "misfits" and having them sterilized. The extent of this barbarous program was discovered during a search of records at the Lynchburg Training School and Hospital, one of the state's largest mental institutions. Since 1972, more than 4,000 men, women and children were operated on to prevent them from ever reproducing. This is just a tiny number of the workers who are victimized in this way by the bosses, who want to ensure a "race of supermen."

The future for the working class can be momentous and bright! If we follow the path of past anti-fascists and fight the new Nazis tooth and nail, we will triumph. Our working-class heritage, our revolutionary heritage, our ability to learn from victories and defeats—past and present—is our ticket to victory. Once and for all, the working class will bury the bosses' tired, old, worn-out, sick "theories" of racism and anti-communism.

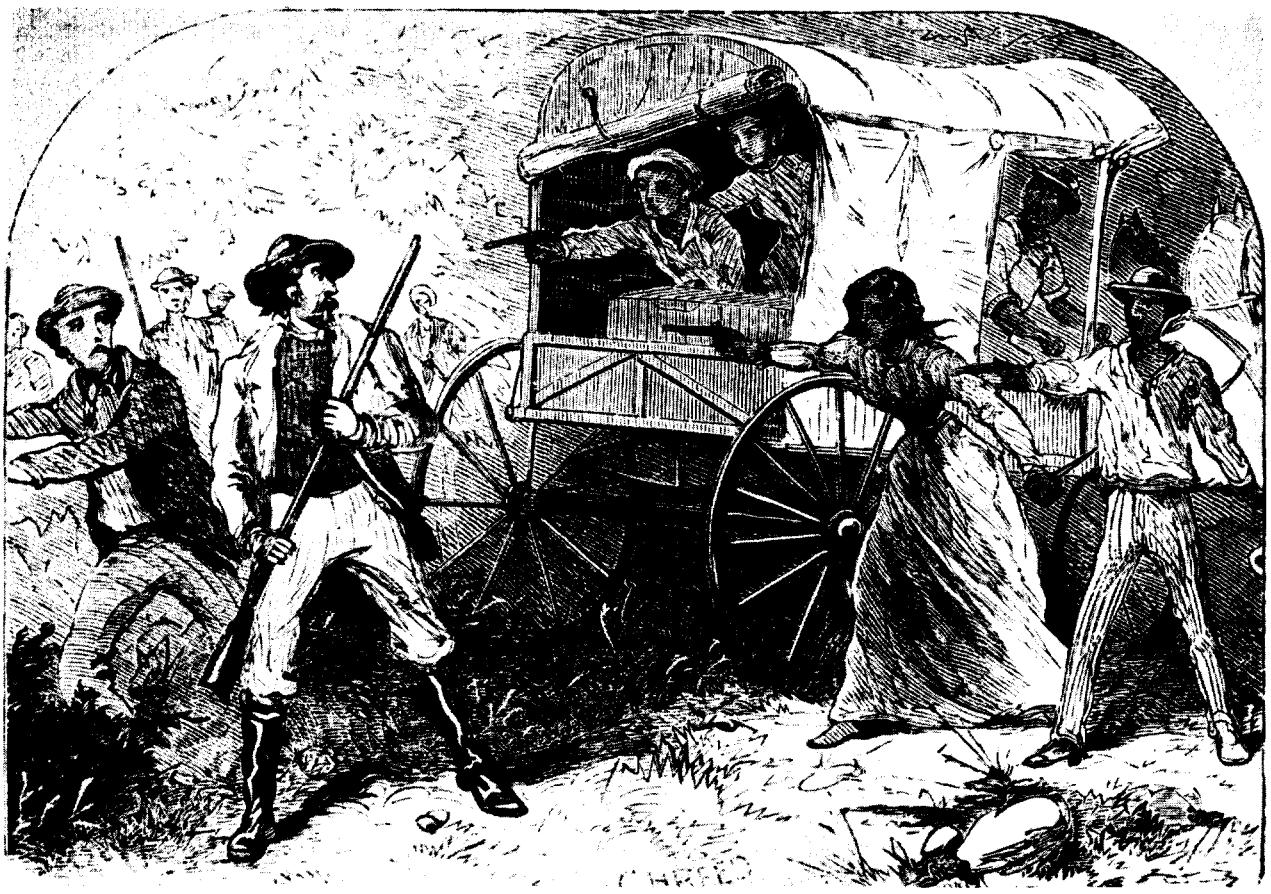
By M.Q.

Racism as Pseudo-Science

The Prophets of Racism

The Use and Abuse of Biology by Marshall Sahlins is a thorough and searching analysis, from the point of view of modern anthropology, of the newest **misuse** of biology, the pseudo-science known as "sociobiology." Sahlins, a specialist in the cultures of Oceania (especially Polynesia), has tried to show that the theory of sociobiology is faulty on two basic grounds: (1) It is logically inconsistent in its internal structure, and (2) It grossly ignores anthropological evidence. To boot, Sahlins shows that the theory is loaded with ethnocentric biases—biases based on attitudes and practices peculiar to western capitalist countries. Although he uses more examples from the work of arch-sociobiologist E.O. Wilson than from that of any other single author, Sahlins strictly avoids a **personal** attack on Wilson or his motives. He focuses on sociobiological arguments as enumerated by a number of modern theorists, including Robert Trivers and W.D. Hamilton.

The Use and Abuse of Biology is a condensed summary of some of the major flaws in the various arguments which make up the so-called field of sociobiology. It was written, the author says, "with some sense of urgency, given the current significance of sociobiology, and the good possibility that it will soon disappear as science, only to be preserved in a renewed popular conviction of the naturalness of our cultural dispositions (p. xv)." There lies both the importance and the theme of Sahlins' essay—to try and prepare some useful written material for the non-expert reader who is confronted with the complexities, jargon, and bold assertions



Fugitive slaves criticising racism with bullets in Loudoun County, Virginia, Christmas Eve 1855.

of popularized versions of sociobiology. For, as Sahlins correctly notes, sociobiology long ago left academic circles, and has been making the rounds of the most slick and widely circulating popular media: **Time Magazine, Newsweek, Psychology Today, The New York Times, The Boston Globe, Saturday Review.** Sahlins' account hits hard at several of the major theoretical problems with sociobiology, and shows that, in any sense of sound reasoning or scientific inquiry, the whole enterprise of explaining human social behavior by genetic and evolutionary theory is absolute nonsense.

Sahlins' book is divided into two major parts: Part I deals with "Biology and Culture," while Part II deals with "Biology and Ideology." Each part consists of two chapters.

Part I begins (Chapter 1) with a critique of vulgar sociobiology. By this term Sahlins means

> the explication of human social behavior as the expression of the needs and drives of the human organism, such propensities having been constructed in human nature by biological evolution (p. 3).

The base-level function of vulgar sociobiology, Sahlins argues, is pure biological determinism: offering a justification for existing social conditions on the basis of innate, pre-determined factors in human beings (their genes). In the case of sociobiology, so the argument goes, these factors have been fixed in the human species by long generations of evolution through natural selection. In this opening chapter Sahlins castigates sociobiologists for some of their blatant errors; these include "anthropomorphism" (the description of animal behavior in human terms), the use of such terms to describe animal societies as "polygyny," "slaves," "castes," "despots," "queens," "cultural attributes," and the like. He strongly criticizes sociobiologists for their naive cultural chauvinism—what anthropologists call "ethnocentrism" and is really racism; taking the behavioral patterns of our own culture and transposing them intact to another culture (for example, the notion of property, which means something very different to a Polynesian than to a resident of western capitalist countries). Seventy-five years of hard-won under-

standings of these problems by anthropologists, Sahlins argues, is blithely ignored by sociobiologists as they proceed to construct an entire genetic determinism for human behavior.

The main point of Chapter I, the critique of vulgar sociobiology, is simple. In the equation

Biology (genes) ——→ Behavior

sociobiologists ignore a crucial intervention—and it is the intervention to which anthropologists are most sensitive: culture. Because humans **learn** so much of their behavior through the obvious channels of cultural interaction (i.e., education, at home as well as in schools), there can be no direct correlation, in any useful sense, between specific behaviors and a specific inherent, biological program. In other words, pure and simple, people are not genetically programmed behaving machines. The failure of sociobiologists to pay more than lip service to cultural influences on behavior, is one of the hallmarks, according to Sahlins, of their naivete and basic ignorance.

In Chapter 2, Sahlins moves to a critique of "scientific sociobiology," which is the more technical, theoretical counterpart to "vulgar sociobiology." Here, the author picks out one element of the so-called "scientific" side of sociobiology and subjects it to a rigorous logical and empirical analysis. The aspect of sociobiology which Sahlins chooses as his target is one of the central pillars of sociobiological theory—the theory of "kin selection." The concept of kin selection was invented —dreamed up might be a better phrase—around 1972 by W.D. Hamilton, in order to explain a contradiction the sociobiologists at the time had encountered. The contradiction was how to account for a very wide range of human social behaviors—from love and altruism to aggression and hate—by one and the same theory, the Darwinian theory of natural selection.

Classical Darwinian theory has easily been able to explain one end of the spectrum of behavior: aggression, hate, selfishness. Through competition and selection, behaviors which benefitted the individual organism first and foremost won out—the reward went to the toughest fighter, the most robust competitor, the most selfish, hard-hearted individual. The reward, in classical Darwinian theory, was judged (for animal and plant species) in terms of "differential fertility": the ability of one organism, with respect to other organisms of the same species, to leave more viable offspring in the next generation. But how, then, with this theory, was it possible to explain the origin of apparently non-egotistical, non-competitive behavior, such as food-sharing or cooperation, as had been observed in many animal, and in all human populations?

After the evolutionary synthesis of Darwinian theory with Mendelian genetics in the 1930's, the new field of population genetics gave a different, highly innovative slant to evolutionary thinking. Evolution was seen in terms of populations, of "pools" (as they were called) of genes existing in certain frequencies (percentages) at any point in time. What mattered over the course of evolution was not the fate of individual organisms, but the fate of genes—indeed of **gene frequencies.** Evolution was defined as the **change** in frequencies of certain genes with respect to others, over two or more generations. This basic approach has been, and continues to be, a highly productive way to view the evolutionary process. For humans, the population approach to our own evolution is obviously as valid as for animals, but does depend upon the rigorous knowledge that the traits under consideration are genetically controlled (for example, as in sickle cell anemia). For human behavior, this becomes a major problem, since no specific behavior patterns in human beings have been shown to be genetically determined.

Because humans learn, there is no direct correlation between specific behaviors and biological program.

Yet, the population approach has allowed biologists to explain the origin of certain traits, such as sickle cell anemia in humans, or sacrificial warning behavior in particular species of animals, which are beneficial to the group, but detrimental to particular individuals (for example, an individual animal which warns the rest that a predator is near might, by virtue of giving the signal, be most readily caught, but the group as a whole, the collective gene pool, would have a better chance of survival.) **Assuming** that the ability to give warning cries—or at least the lack of a selfish inhibition against it—was genetically determined, such genes would persist in the population by virtue of their overall adaptive value to the group, even though they allowed some individuals to be sacrificed. This sort of explanation, particularly for animal populations, became known as the "group selection" hypothesis.

Where the group selection hypothesis falls short, as Sahlins shows, is in its application to a peculiar and prevalent human behavioral trait, the formation of kinship relations. These are relationships between kinship groups, or family lines, which abound in all human cultures. Group selection cannot account for the persistent cooperative and altruistic behavior which is observed to occur among close relatives: for example, the "instinct" of a parent to risk his or her own life to save their drowning child, or the tendency to share food or do favors more readily for a first cousin than a neighbor or acquaintance. Unwilling or unable to seek a cultural explanation where the existing theory of group selection failed, sociobiologists invented yet another theory: "kin selection."

The notion of kin selection is based on several assumptions for which there is no evidence whatever: (1) The assumption that kinship groups in all human societies are based on actual (biological) relationships—i.e., that such groups occur along actual genetic lines; (2) The further assumption that individuals within such kinship groups have what E.O. Wilson terms "an intuitive calculus" of blood ties—i.e., that individuals somehow "know" who their genetic relatives are, and will behave differently toward them than toward non-relatives. This "feeling" is what Sahlins humorously refers to as the "secret wisdom of consanguinity (p. 25);" and, finally (3) a third assumption that somehow this ability to recognize relatives is, in fact, genetically programmed and has been selected for over many generations by natural selection. The theory of "kin selection" is an attempt by sociobiologists to save the phenomenon of Darwinian competition as an operative principle in human behavioral evolution, except that here the competition is between blood lines, families—the argument sounds like a Mafia soap opera—rather than between individuals, or even more generalized populations. Close relatives cooperate, say the sociobiologists, since they share a number of genes in common, they are supposedly maximizing the frequency of transmission of those genes (through the kinship group) to the next generation. All human behavior, Wilson and other sociobiologists argue, is a last resort an attempt to maximize the possibility of one's own genes (whether housed in one's own body, or in that of a close relative) being passed on to the next generation. In other words, to paraphrase Samuel Butler, one of Darwin's persistent critics in the 19th century: A person is just a gene's way of making another gene.

Sahlins shows that the pseudo-theory of "kin selection" is worthless on several grounds. One, on which he does not dwell very long, is the fact that no one has the slightest evidence to suggest that any specific human behavior such as altruism, selfishness or entrepeneurship, are genetically determined in any measurable degree. Of course, there are **some** constraints imposed upon our behavior by our biological, that is, genetical, make-up: for example we cannot flap our arms and fly, or run at 60 mph along the ground. But such very generalized constraints are not the sorts of things sociobiologists are interested in anyway. Their interest lies in explaining the origins of, and constraints on, more specific behaviors such as maternal instinct, cooperativeness, aggression, etc. Now, if these more specific behavioral patterns are not genetically determined, they cannot be accounted for by natural selection. Thus on this ground alone the whole theoretical superstructure of sociobiology collapses. Largely because it has been discussed elsewhere, Sahlins passes over this vulnerable point in sociobiology, and focuses his attention on the anthropological data regarding kinship groups.

Drawing on numerous examples from different cultures, Sahlins shows that while kinship groups, as such, do exist in every known human culture, they vary enormously in the criteria by which they are formed. In many cases, what are known as kinship groups have little to do with the standard genetic relationships by which we define them in western countries. For example, in certain tribes of Polynesia the children of a male cousin are given preferential treatment (and, according to sociobiologists, thereby maximize their reproductive potential) over children of a female sib, even though the latter have considerably more genes in common. In some cultures, adopted children are treated better than biological children. Among the Nuer people of Sudan, two genetically unrelated women frequently set up a kinship group (literally marry) and favor their own children (genetically unrelated) to those of close relatives in their own biological families. Sahlins gives numerous other examples, but the point is the same: contrary to predictions based on the pseudo-theory of "kin selection," kinship groups around the world are organized **without** respect to genetic connection. They are more often than not organized along lines which have to do with cultural factors: economic production, food distribution, and the like. Human cooperative behavior, Sahlins emphasizes, is not a product of the stirrings in our genes, but is a product of learned, culturally adapted responses to the environment, to the conditions of life. As Sahlins states emphatically:

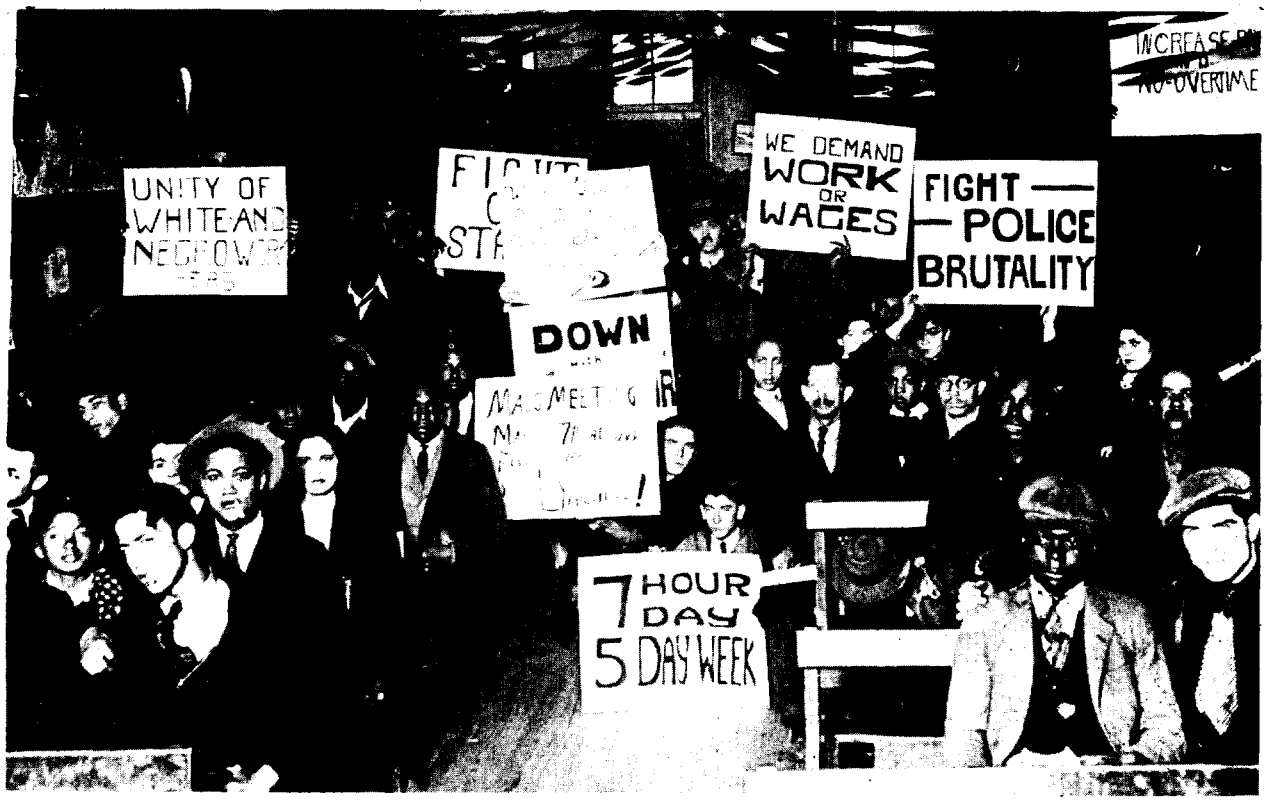
> ...human beings do not merely reproduce as physical or biological beings: not in their capacities as self-mediating expressions of an entrepeneurial DNA but in their capacities as members of families and lineages... (p. 60)

In other words, the specifics of our social behavior are not biologically, but **socially** inherited, responses we learn and can modify according to our perceptions of what is adaptive for ourselves and those with whom we associate.

In Chapter 3, "Ideological Transformations of Natural Selection," Sahlins criticizes sociobiology on a number of logical and philosophical points. For example, he notes that sociobiologists are guilty of what Wilson himself calls "the fallacy of affirming the consequent (p. 45)." This means that a certain model is set up, and its predictions are found to conform to observations in nature; hence, it is concluded that the model must be right. Now, of course, one or more other models could also account for the same observed results. Unless the other models are considered, and some way found to distinguish between them, they are all exercises in fantasy. In the present case, for example, sociobiologists postulate genes for specific human behaviors (e.g., sex roles); finding that these behaviors exist in many populations, and persist from generation to generation, they assume their model is correct. The fact that a model of learning could just as easily (or more so) explain the same results does not seem to enter their heads. They engage in the fallacy of affirming the consequent.

Another criticism Sahlins makes of sociobiology is that its very language and metaphor betray a penetrating ethnocentrism—that is **racism** (though Sahlins avoids calling it that). Aside from such obviously culturally conditioned terms as those mentioned on page 2, sociobiologists have a habit of using metaphors borrowed directly from capitalist economics. They speak of certain behaviors allowing organisms, or humans, to "maximize their profits," or to make "investments" in the future of their own DNA. Others speak of behaviors in terms of a "cost-benefit analysis." Not only is this set of words blatantly biased towards capitalism but when it is "discovered" that such metaphors superficially **seem** to apply to animal, or human activities, sociobiologists proclaim the consequent—their theory works! So they proclaim that all organisms—especially all human beings—behave according to similar, innate patterns (**capitalist** patterns, of course). Such logical circularity, Sahlins points out, invalidates the whole theory, but that has never seemed to bother sociobiologists. Sahlins' critique of the widespread use of capitalist terminology among sociobiologists is one of the more novel points his book has brought to light.

In a fourth and final chapter, Sahlins shows that sociobiology is just one of a long line of arguments for behavioral determinism which has existed under capitalism since the 17th century. Actually, we should recognize that such ideas are far older than capitalism, and begin with Plato's conception of the "noble lie" in **The Republic**, in which



Black and white workers united for multi-racial unity, the shorter work week and other demands are shown in this 1934 photograph of an International Labor Defense meeting in Harlem.

Plato suggests that different social classes are determined, metaphorically at least, by the different "metals" which make up their members; the wealthy are "gold," while the working class and slaves are "iron.")* Starting with Thomas Hobbes (17th century), Sahlins discusses Herbert Spencer (who made a social theory of Darwin's concept of natural selection plus a good dose of Malthusianism), and William Graham Sumner (an American Spencerian) as examples of predecessors of modern sociobiologists. All have been, Sahlins points out, rationalizers for the rigidity of human behavior under a capitalist model. For all these men, Sahlins points out, their models set the limits to the modifiability of human behavior—and hence of the social order. What is inscribed in the theory of sociobiology, Sahlins writes, "is the entrenched ideology of western society: the assurance of its naturalness, and the claim of its inevitability (p. 101)." Sociobiology is only the latest, and to date most sophisticated form of such sorry and murderous ideologies. It isn't science, but propaganda for the ruling classes.

Despite its many strong points, **The Use and Misuse of Biology** has several weaknesses. For one thing, it is written in a very abstruse, academic style. Although anthropological jargon is kept to a minimum, or explained when introduced, the author's writing style is turgid at best. I found myself reading and re-reading sections several times to figure out their exact meaning. Thus, as an introduction for students or non-experts Sahlins' book will not be easy going. Yet the ideas are there, and quite thoroughly explained for anyone who wants to dig a bit.

A more serious criticism is the lack of much overt political perspective or analysis on the rise and influence of sociobiology today. Sahlins focuses virtually all of his attention on the intellectual shortcomings, contradictions, and errors in sociobiological theories. This is, of course, necessary, as it has been with Jensenism or eugenics in the past. But mere exposure of the scientific

*The story is called a "lie" quite overtly by Plato, since he was purposefully inventing it to try and keep the various social classes in their places. If a person believed he (or she) were made of the basest metal, they would accept their exploited lot more readily, realizing there was little they could do to become a higher person—after all, can iron be transformed into gold?

fallacies inherent in such theories is not enough. It is essential to show also the **function** the theories serve when they emerge, especially **who pushes them and through what channels**—in short, **to expose the historical role which such scientific ideologies play.** Otherwise, it is all an intellectual exercise.

In fact, Sahlins' own cultural bias seems to enter here: while he is keen to point out ethnocentrism on the part of sociobiologists, he does not mention (except briefly, in passing) their rampant and overt sexism, and their equally rampant, but not so overt racism. Sociobiology is not just an affront to evolutionary biologists and anthropologists. It is a dangerous ideology which can be used, if widely circulated and unopposed, to inhibit the development of the revolutionary process.

Certainly sociobiology has been widely circulated and publicized by the bougeois press in the last several years. E.O. Wilson's monumental book **Sociobiology** received a heavy pre-publicity effort from Harvard University Press—more than that press has lavished on any other so-called academic book in years.

In addition to a number of major, popular reviews, sociobiology has become part of school curricula. A new programmed teaching package, **Man, A Course of Study** (abbreviated MACOS), has been adopted by primary and secondary (junior high) schools all over the country. MACOS teaches young people to make analogies between animal and human behavior at will, and emphasizes the inborn nature of much human social activity. Sociobiologists De Vore and Trivers served as advisors to the MACOS project. A grossly sexist and racist film, "Sociobiology, or Doing What Comes Naturally" has been produced for high school and college consumption. The film shows, among other things, a female ape and a woman in short-shorts both with "sexy" walks, and suggests that the rape of the Sabine women by Roman soldiers in the third century B.C. was dictated by a desire to spread the genes of the conquerors among the gene pool of the conquered! The film also includes interviews with Wilson, Trivers and DeVore, who even in the short time available manage to make some of the most ignorant and anti-working class remarks imaginable (for example, Wilson is shown sorting different types of ants out under a microscope. he makes the incredible statement that in an ant colony an individual is genetically programmed for a specific social role: "once a worker always a worker."). These ideas are being given wide circulation by ruling class people who run publishing houses, newspapers, dominate school boards or university administrations because they fit the needs of the rich.

At a time when bosses everywhere face sagging profits and need to cut back, ideas of job advancement, upward mobility and the like are dangerous to the rich. "Once a worker always a worker" is a convenient justification for doing what economic needs dictate anyway—not paying people more, cutting back on jobs, or not advancing individuals. Sociobiology is not just an academic debate. It serves a real social purpose.

A lot of times people—especially in schools and colleges—ask the question: how do you know that the bosses push ideas like sociobiology? Don't they (the ideas) get popularized just because they are sensational, new or intriguing? That is a very good question. If we can answer it we can win more people to understand the importance of such ideas in the class struggle. But it isn't easy to answer this question, because we need a lot of very specific data on who funds the work of people like Wilson and others, how those decisions are made, and what the reasons for such support are, or at least are claimed to be. And especially when the controversy is recent, as with sociobiology, hard information on funding isn't available. One way to approach answering these questions is to argue **theoretically**: that is, to point out that the people who run publishing houses, school boards, universities, etc. are not usually working people, minorities, women, or immigrants. Such individuals will naturally support ideas which keep them (psychologically as well as economically) in a top position. Also, it is important to recognize that academic racists like Arthur Jensen, William Shockley, Cyril Burt, or E.O. Wilson are around all the time. Their like is not created by wealthy people. Academic clowns constantly offer up their wares for sale (that is, for funding, hence recognition). At some times their rationalizations for racism or sexism are more valuable than at others—and those times have traditionally been during periods of economic decline—so they are

Despite the ruling class's racist theorists and other attempts to split the working class, our Party and InCAR today are leading an ever-growing multi-racial movement which will put an end to all bosses and their racism.

"bought" when needed, and ignored when not needed. For example, in the early 1960's the U.S. ruling class was in a reasonably favorable economic position. They let pass the offerings of academic racists such as Dwight Ingle (University of Chicago) and Carlton Coon (University of Pennsylvania) who made claims about the evolutionary inferiority (or backwardness) of blacks. Coon, especially, was a highly renowned anthropologist whose major work, **The Origin of Races**, was equally as sensational as anything Wilson said in **Sociobiology**. Yet aside from a few flurries in academic circles and some southern newspapers, Coon's work got little backing. But in the far less favorable economic period of the late 1960's and throughout the 1970's Jensen's, Shockley's, and Wilson's ideas have been given infinitely more publicity.

Something closer to concrete evidence does come from studies of biological determinist movements in the past. For example, according to the **St. Louis Post-Dispatch** of December 11, 1977 (p. 6, Section G) the Pioneer Fund, a supposedly philanthropic foundation established in the 1920's by Col. William H. Draper, contributed significantly to the work of William Shockley and Arthur Jensen. Between 1967 and 1977 the Fund awarded Shockley over $179,000 to pursue his research on the genetic superiority of whites to blacks in I.Q. In a society such as that of modern capitalism, where "money talks," the availability of large-scale funding can have an enormous influence over which ideas are spread around and which are not. Failure to appreciate this crucial role, the social context of erroneous scientific ideas, is perhaps the greatest weakness of Sahlins' book.

The problem with theories of biological determinism is not merely that they support the **status quo** (though throughout history they always have), but that they are actually a negative force which runs counter to the evolution of human society. Theories of biological determinism restrict human potential rather than liberating it. Such ideas try to convince people that they are imprisoned by their individual or collective biology rather than by the ruling class which exploits their labor.

Despite this rather significant shortcoming, Sahlins' book is still the best available critique of the anthropological side of sociobiological theory. Along with the **Science for the People** study group critique of the biological side, Sahlins' work provides the most thorough account of the intellectual content of sociobiology. What it lacks is a **political analysis** which informs readers not only how and why such theories come to prominence and the social roles they play, but most importantly, what to do about it today.

By T.E.L.

Chaos in Chicago

Capitalism, Cutbacks and Collapse

Over the past few years, as the U.S. ruling class has moved toward war and fascism to retrieve its declining fortunes, the U.S. working class has been confronted with escalating cutbacks and attacks on services for workers, including welfare, health and housing. Perhaps nowhere have these cutbacks been so sharp as in education, where vast layoffs of teachers, increased class sizes and school closings have reflected both the inability of the bosses to afford even a semblance of a decent education for working-class children and their need to destroy the potential for multi-racial unity among workers that could bring down their murderous system.

Chicago, long known as one of the most segregated cities in the U.S., has recently come to the forefront in the ruling class's plans to build racism in the schools and destroy the public school system. As this is written, Chicago Teachers have just done back to work after a strike that began when they received no paychecks for six weeks. The school system is in chaos, and the school board plans to solve its fiscal crisis with layoffs, school closings, bigger classes and program cuts. And "liberal" Mayor Jane Byrne is icing the cake with her claim that the city has no money left for school integration.

With the backing of all the mass media—liberal and conservative alike— Byrne has enthusiastically become the public leader of the racist movement in Chicago. Because their pals in the Nazi party have been physically destroyed and politically discredited in the eyes of Chicago's working class through the efforts of PLP and InCAR, Chicago bosses have turned to a more effective fascist organization to intensify racist divisions in the working class—the Democratic Party machine.

Last winter's strike of Chicago teachers over payless paydays was a response to the latest in the Chicago rulers' racist attacks on education for workers' kids. Similiar attacks in other cities mark the decline of U.S. bosses' system.

For years under Mayor Daley, the bosses had no need for the Nazis. The racist police force, with its well-earned reputation as murderers of the working class, and the thugs in the local Democratic Party organs were successful in repressing and segregating the black population. In this, they had the help of various sellouts in the black community, including the Rev. Jesse Jackson, the **Chicago Defender** and others. Jane Byrne rode into office just like Carter, pretending to be from the working class and against the machine and big business. Now that she is mayor, she works aggressively to maintain segregation and build racial hostility to justify her suppression of the black working class and build her program for suppression of the whole working class. Despite all the whimpering, complaining and outright lying that segregation in Chicago is "accidental" and that racism is "unfortunate," **everyone in the city knows how carefully the city government has worked with the banks, the Federal government, real estate interests and local racist thugs to make FORCED segregation the rule in Chicago.**

Several aspects of racism are involved here. First, segregated schools are unequal schools. While conditions in the schools in white communities are also declining,there is no question that schools in minority neighborhoods are generally older and have fewer facilities because they are shortchanged by the city government. The only way to make sure that minority children are not shortchanged is to integrate the schools and continue the fight against all racism in the schools. Segregation can never lead to "quality education"; segregation always equals discrimination.

Even if the city set up a few all-black schools with superior facilities, the situation would still be racist. **It is inherently racist to separate people and build the idea that workers with differing physical appearance, such as skin color, are somehow basically "different" from each other.** Any segregation helps build that racist lie.

The main argument that Byrne and her racist pal, **Sun-Times** columnist Mike Royko, use against school integration is totally based on this racist idea. They say that since the public school population is only 20% white, it would be "absurd" or wrong to integrate, since white students would be only a 20% minority in many schools.

They paint phony images of a timid, lonely white student surrounded by aggressive, hostile blacks. They imply that integration might be okay if whites were the majority. Of course, when white students **were** in the majority, these racists **still** opposed integration.

Another lie they spread is that they are defending "quality education," which is "more important than integration." If this were not so tragic, it would almost be laughable. Under their segregated system, the quality of schooling for **all** children has **deteriorated** because black and white parents and students are too divided to fight back together for better schools for all. Segregation lowers the quality of education for all students by laying the basis for cutbacks.

More important, however, is the bosses' admission that their idea of a "quality" education is a segregated education, that an integrated education must be bad. This is based on the lie that black students will somehow harm the education of the white students. We workers know that while "book-learning" is important, learning from experience is often more profound. The segregationists don't want our children to learn from the experience of integrated schools that black and white workers are more alike than different, and need to unite and fight back.

Of course, when white students were in the majority, these racists still opposed integration.

WHO LEADS THE RACISTS?

In Boston the ruling class tried to cover up their role in pushing racism by setting up a phony "community leader," Louise Day Hicks, as the public leader of a large racist movement against integration. In Chicago, the Mayor herself has eagerly assumed the role of outspoken public leader of the anti-integration movement. In every city where school integration has been attempted, the one factor that had the greatest impact in determining whether there would be racist fighting was **whether the city government adopted an aggressive stance against integration.** Where city governments adopted aggressive, racist positions, it encouraged all sorts of Nazis, KKK, and other degenerate scum to embark on physical attacks on black students. When the city government gave integration minimal support, or at least kept its mouth shut, the amount of violence was minimal. It is very evident that Mayor Byrne, the Chicago news media, and their capitalist bosses at First National Bank, Marshall Field, and other major corporations, have all decided to breathe new life into violent racist gangs that infest certain Chicago neighborhoods. While the bosses have sometimes tried to avoid mass racist violence, it is clear that this is what they are proposing for Chicago. They so detest and fear the working class unity that would come with integration that they are willing to create a race war to try to stop that unity.

Chicago's working class must not allow the racist or nationalist arguments to lead us all into a trap. Racial integration is vitally important, not just for better education, but so that working class people can better learn to work together against our common enemy, the capitalists. **Of all the different techniques that the capitalists use to build racism, the single most effective technique for creating racism is racial segregation.** All their other tricks—the racist theories taught in the colleges, the racism in the media, the racist lies of the politicians—all these techniques would be almost useless without segregation. By dividing the working class it sets up the different groups, especially the white population, to be isolated from the other groups and therefore to be more likely to believe lies about working class people of other backgrounds. All anti-racists, especially communists, must make the fight against segregation central to the fight against racism. The bosses know how important segregation is to them; that is why they go to such great extremes to create and defend segregation.

BOSSES PUSHING MORE RACISM

Unfortunately for the bosses, the black and Latin working class of the United States does not constitute an "underclass," separate from the rest of the working class. On the contrary, black and Latin workers are **the most proletarianized section of the whole working class,** with higher percentages concentrated in the important industries of steel production, auto manufacturing, coal mining, and agricultural work. Furthermore, the capitalists must rely on large numbers of minority youth to staff their armed forces. As a result, the bosses are a bit hesitant right now to come out 100% for full-scale Nazi-type repression against minority groups for fear that these workers might rebel, as in the 1960s, and pave the way for a revolution against capitalism by the whole working class. Therefore, the bosses must still try to give the impression that they are against racism and for certain forms of integration, and they give huge

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sums of money to certain black and Latin misleaders to direct the anti-racist struggle into a pro-capitalist direction.

The various school busing and integration proposals and phony anti-discrimination talk that some politicians and courts put forward reflect the fact that the bosses are weak and that their economy depends greatly on the labor of the black and Latin working class. Of course their lip service is not backed up by any anti-racist action; in fact, the gap between white and minority standards of living only slightly narrowed during the 1960's, and in fact is now widening again every day—positive proof that racism is getting worse.

In the immediate future, the capitalists will need to push more and more of the aggressive, segregationist style racism. Their economy is collapsing and working class unity is still their biggest fear, so they will be forced to squeeze the whole working class harder, with an extra-heavy, deadly burden falling on the shoulders of black and Latin workers. And they will have to justify this with more and more of the "old style," overt racist policies. Even though this risks opening the door to minority rebellion, the bosses have no choice; their drive toward war and fascism to save their system requires it. Aggressive racism will become the dominant trend over phony liberal rhetoric, with the bosses hoping to rely on a few sell-outs in the black and Latin communities to try to "keep the minorities under control," as some Jewish leaders "pacified" the Jewish working class to keep them from fighting back against the Nazis in Germany.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SABOTAGES INTEGRATION

The Federal government's busing plan for Chicago is part of this racist strategy. While the Feds criticize Chicago's own racist plan the Federal plan would also keep hundreds of schools segregated. Furthermore, the Feds are using intentionally inflammatory language designed to stir up hostility in the white community. They are partners with Jane Byrne in creating more racism. We working class people want and need racial integration in the neighborhoods and in the schools. While neighborhood integration would be best in the long run, we must act now to demand integration in the schools.

The bosses try to stir up white workers with terms like "forced busing." But it is the capitalists that have created forced segregation, and it is the capitalists who are planning to use **forced busing, shipping, and flying of all our children overseas to fight and die to protect the bosses' profits.** It is the capitalists who **force** us to accept inadequate medical care, high pollution, dangerous conditions on the job, and **forced** poverty and early death when they believe that we are too old to work efficiently for their profits. If we want to put an end to this forced murder, then we must fight for integration.

There are ways that an integration program could work without hardship. There could be integration between the city and suburbs; there could be elimination of special tax-exemptions for the churches that are setting up private schools (with highly underpaid teachers) that pull white children out of public schools and into usually all-white private schools. The busing plans could put on extra runs of busses to enable students to take part in activities after school (even now, over **half** of all school children in the U.S. ride busses to school without major problems). If the Federal Government truly wanted our children to grow up with genuine integration, they could develop integration plans that work. However, they are moving towards fascism, and they want racism intensified. Therefore, it is up to us, the working class to fight for integration. Whatever hardships the bosses might try to attach to their various busing plans, the worst hardship that the working class can face is to be divided in the face of the capitalists' plans for fascism. If we want our children to grow up able to resist oppression, it is crucial that we teach them to grow up clear-headed and strong and able to see through the lies of racism. Time on a bus is a small price to pay for working class unity; death and destruction through racist fascism is a terrible cost to pay if that is the result of parents allowing segregation to exist.

The gap between white and minority standards of living is now widening again.

Communists in the Progressive Labor Party and anti-racists in the Committee Against Racism must dedicate themselves to exposing all the racist plans, and we must concentrate intensely on winning the working class to fight for racial integration as the major step to destroying racism and to destroying the most murderous system ever to exist on the face of the earth–U.S. capitalism.

PL★

By G.S.B.

Cornerstone of Capitalism

The Profits of Racism

Racism is the cornerstone of the capitalist system. The Rockefellers, Morgans, Mellons, and other big bosses who own the U.S. economy and who suck the life-blood of the working class, cannot accept mere "average" profits. As their competition intensifies, their costs rise, and their rate of profit shrinks, the capitalists must constantly strive to maximize their profits. This is a basic law of the "free enterprise" system.

All profit comes from the surplus produced by workers. It follows then that maximum profit can be realized only by increasing the surplus robbed from important sections of the working class. Internationally, the bosses seek their maximum profits from the plunder and impoverishment of workers in countries with low levels of industrial development. Here in the U.S., this process is mirrored in the special grinding and devastation of black, Latin, Asian, Native American, immigrant, and other so-called "minority" workers.

The super-profits generated by this special exploitation form the material basis of racism, which is the single most lucrative domestic industry in the United States today. Tens of billions of dollars swell the bosses' coffers because of racist wage differentials. The capitalists rob tens of billions more by denying "minority" workers the medical and social services necessary for survival, by crowding them into slums and forcing them to pay exorbitant rents, and by charging them maximum prices for the most inferior food, clothing, and other necessities.

RACIST PROFITS

These super-profits are only part of the story. True, they account for billions and billions. But the essential economic feature of racism, the characteristic that renders its intensification a matter of survival to all capitalists—particularly capitalists on the skids like "our" bosses here in the U.S.—is its role in driving down the wages and living conditions of the entire working class. The racist superexploitation of black, Latin, Asian, and immigrant workers is a body blow aimed at all workers.

The racist ideology symbolized by hooded KKK thugs, by killer-cops, by "white power" genocide-advocates, by anti-busing segregationists, and by the Hitlerite scribblings of the bosses' intellectual gestapo functions as the by-product of this economic law. Its reason for existence is to divide and politically cripple the working class and thereby guarantee the uninterrupted flow of superprofits.

The struggle to crush racist practices and the ideology that justifies them therefore confronts our class as a matter of life and death. Unless an all-out fight is made against racism, a battle waged by revolutionaries in the Progressive Labor Party first and by workers in general, then 1) workers will be unable to make even the most elementary advances in fighting for their class interests; 2) the hacks who serve the ruling class in the labor movement will continue to ride roughshod over the rank and file; 3) the big bosses will succeed in using racism—and its twin, nationalism—to establish fascist terror; 4) fascism will lead to World War III, as the bosses fire every weapon in their arsenal, including nuclear bombs, in a desperate attempt to reverse their political and economic decline; 5) no Marxist-Leninist party will succeed in leading a socialist revolution in the United States.

The U.S. working class has a long and glorious history of multi-racial unity. Poor white sharecroppers united with many slave rebellions before the Civil War. John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry pointed the way forward from the horrors of slavery. The New Orleans general strike of 1892 proved that black and white workers would stand fast against the most vicious racist provocation. More recently, tens of thousands of white postal workers followed the militant lead of black and Latin wildcatters in 1971, and the subsequent nationwide postal strike threatened to bring the capitalist economy to a halt.

Never has the need for multi-racial unity—revolutionary multi-racial unity—been greater than it is today. Writing over a hundred years ago, Karl Marx,

RACIST PROFITS

the founder of scientific socialism, observed that "Labor in the white skin can never be free as long as labor in the black skin remains in chains." This statement is as applicable to our time as it was to Marx's.

The Progressive Labor Party believes that the working class will rise up and crush racism, just as it will rise up and destroy the capitalist system, because workers' most basic interests and deepest aspirations dictate that this be done. But time is of the essence. The big bosses are working day and night to sucker us with more racism-nationalism-jingoism and to prepare us for war. We must organize ourselves to respond massively, decisively, and violently. In this article we will expose racism as a tool of the capitalist class and suggest a strategy for smashing it.

THE ECONOMICS OF RACISM

Hard facts—even those doctored up by government agencies to hide the awesome depth of racist oppression—reveal that the bosses are increasing the economic devastation of "minority" workers. Nothing exposes this super exploitation more clearly than the wage differentials between groups within the working class. Figures for these differentials are available only for black and Latin workers, who form the largest sections of the "minority" working class. In no way do we intend to minimize the oppression of Asian, Native American, non-Latin immigrant, and other workers victimized most intensely by racism. We can only work with the facts that are available and let them speak for themselves. In 1968, the median income of all black families in the United States was $9,838. The median income of all white families was $16,476. A "median" is not the same thing as an average: it means that half the families earn more than the figure given, and half earn less. In 1976 the median income of all black families in the U.S. was 59.7% of the median income of all white families.

The picture is actually worsening. In 1977, even taking into account the government's inflation-adjusted figures (which estimate inflation as much lower than it is), we find that the median income of all white families rose very slightly to $16,740, a sum that fell far below the inflation rate, while the mediun income of all black families fell both relatively and absolutely to $9,563. Thus, in 1977 (the last year for which figures are currently available), the median income of black families was 57.1% of white median family income. Remember that one-half of all families live below the median. The picture of racist oppression becomes even more monstrous when we examine the figures for income distribution provided on Chart I.

Chart I

INCOME OF FAMILIES AND PERSONS DISTRIBUTED BY INCOME LEVEL: 1976 and 1977

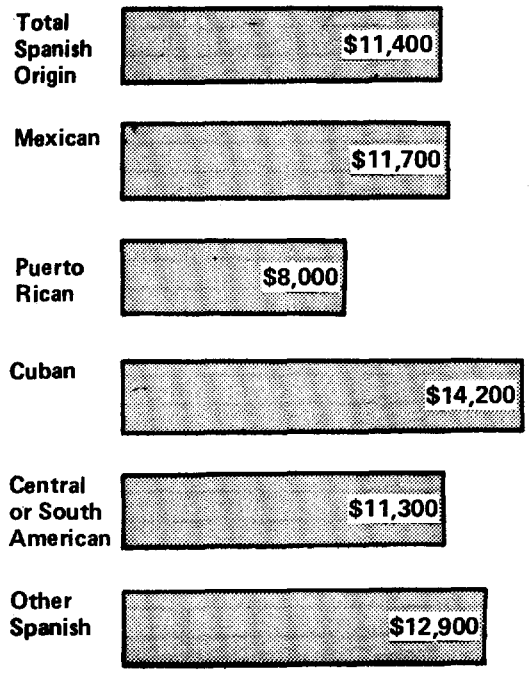
(adjusted for price changes in 1977 dollars)

	BLACK		WHITE	
	1976	1977	1976	1977
Number of families:	5,304	5,806	50,083	50,530
Percent:	100	100	100	100
Under $3,000	9	10	3	3
3,000 to 4,999	15	14	5	5
5,000 to 6,999	12	13	7	7
7,000 to 9,999	15	15	11	10
10,000 to 11,999	8	8	7	7
12,000 to 14,999	11	10	11	11
15,000 to 24,999	22	21	34	33
25,000 and over	8	9	22	24
MEDIAN INCOME:	$9,838	$9,563	$16,539	$16,740

Data from *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population* (1979), U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Census Bureau

Chart II

MEDIAN INCOME IN 1977 OF FAMILIES OF SPANISH ORIGIN



Here we find that 52% of all black families and 25% of all white families earned less than $10,000 in 1977. Furthermore, 7,726,000 black people and 16,416,000 white people lived below the poverty level in 1977. According to the bosses' government, the "poverty threshold" for a non-farm family was $6,191 in 1977—a ridiculously low figure. The useful information is that between 1974 and 1976 the number of black and white families classed as poor increased. In 1977, the poverty rate was 31% for black families and 9% for white families. We will show below that in fact it is much higher for both.

The racist wage differentials for Latin workers are similar. The latest survey (March 1978) shows median income for people who are not Latin as $16,300, while the median income of Latin people was $11,400—69.9% of the non-Latin figure. The most super-exploited of all Latin workers are Puerto Rican workers, whose median income of $8,000 is only 49.1% the median for non-Latin families. Furthermore, in 1977, 53.2% of all Latin families had incomes of less than $10,000. Roughly one-fourth of all Latin families lived below the "poverty level" that year. This information, however savagely it indicts the big bosses, doesn't begin to tell the whole story of the racist superexploitation of Latin workers, because it doesn't include the figures of the so-called "illegal" workers, millions of whom are forced to work for less than minimum wages and are prevented by the capitalist government from gaining access even to the wretched social services allotted to other workers.

Thus, merely on a median basis, the big bosses pay black families 43% less than they pay white families, and Latin families 30% less than they pay non-Latin families. Since figures for average income are not available, it is impossible to calculate accurately the exact amount of profit generated by racist wage differentials. However, since 25.4 million black people and 12.1 Latin people live in the U.S., it in no way exaggerates reality to state that capitalism rakes in tens of billions of dollars in super-profits because it systematically underpays black and Latin workers and grinds down their standard of living through this racist wage differential.

However, as we stated above, the body-blows aimed at black and Latin workers show just a fraction of racist oppression. Only when we take into account the fact that racist wage differentials drive down all workers' wages do we begin to see that racism and capitalist profit are absolutely inseparable.

The figures in Chart III below give the estimated budget needed for a family of four on an urban U.S. average and for a number of large U.S. cities.

From these figures, we can begin to see the full economic effects of the bosses' racism:

- More than half of all black families in the U.S. earn $1,983 less than the figure the Bureau of Labor Statistics calls necessary to maintain a **low** standard of living. More than half of all Latin families earn $146 less than this figure. More than half of all Puerto Rican families earn $3,546 less than this figure.
- More than half of all black families earn $9,059 less than the figure the BLS calls necessary for an intermediate standard of living. More than half of all Latin families earn $7,422 less than this figure. More than half of all Puerto Rican families earn $10,622

Chart III

ANNUAL BUDGET FOR 4-PERSON FAMILY IN SELECTED CITIES (AUTUMN 1978)

LOWER BUDGET		INTERMEDIATE BUDGET		HIGHER BUDGET	
Urban U.S. Average	$11,546	Urban U.S. Average	$18,622	Urban U.S. Average	$27,420
San Francisco	12,710	Boston	22,117	NewYork/NE NJ	34,252
Seattle/Everett	12,506	New York/NE NJ	21,587	Boston	33,596
Boston	12,501	Wash. DC/MD/VA	20,105	Wash. DC/MD/VA	29,584
Wash. DC/MD/VA	12,398	Milwaukee,	20,025	Milwaukee	29,476
LA/Long Beach	12,193	Buffalo, NY	19,517	San Francisco	28,719
Champaign/Urbana	12,117	San Francisco	19,427	Buffalo, NY	28,699
New York/NE NJ	12,063	Philadelphia/NJ	19,416	Minneapolis/St.P	28,629
Hartford, Conn.	11,996	Hartford, Conn.	19,392	Philadelphia/NJ	28,291
Philadelphia/NJ	11,903	Minneapolis/St. P	19,389	Detroit	28,172
Portland, Maine	11,902	Portland, Maine	19,186	Champaign/Urbana	27,874
Baltimore	11,899	Detroit	19,145	Green Bay, Wisc.	27,772
Chicago/NW Indiana	11,829	Champaign/Urbana	19,076	Baltimore	27,492
Milwaukee	11,733	Cleveland	18,987	Cleveland	27,281
San Diego, Cal.	11,661	Chicago/NW Indiana	18,794	Hartford, Conn.	27,231
Detroit	11,596	Baltimore	18,699	Portland, Maine	27,193
Wichita, Kansas	11,574	Seattle/Everett	18,671	Chicago/NW Indiana	27,169
Cleveland	11,532	Green Bay, Wisc.	18,490	Kansas City,Mo/Kan	26,981
Minneapolis/St. P	11,421	Cincinnati/KY/IND	18,354	Cedar Rapids, Iowa	26,584
Kansas City,Mo/Kan	11,409	Kansas City, Mo/Kan	18,262	Seattle/Everett	26,567

less than this figure.

- Roughly 25% of all white families earn less than the low-income budget figure. More than half of all **white** families earn nearly $2,000 less than the intermediate budget figure.
- From autumn 1977 to autumn 1978, the total cost of the lower budget rose 10.2%. The intermediate budgets rose 8.9% and 8.8% respectively. Yet median black family income actually **declined** by .03% from 1976 to 1977, while white family income rose only .01%. The latest figures for inflation, computed at an annual rate are nearly 14% (August 1979).

In the face of all this evidence that racism ruins life for the entire working class, along comes Nathan Glazer, a self-styled "sociologist," who happens to play an important role at the Harvard-Massachusetts Institute of Technology Joint Center for Urban Studies. In a savage racist attack against all workers called **Affirmative Discrimination**, this ruling-class shill states that:

- The American Dream is now open to everybody: "No one is now excluded from the broadest access to what the society makes possible."
- "The '60s saw the nearly complete elimination of racial bias in the job market."
- Attempts to improve the living standards of "minorities" unfairly victimize the white "majority" by asking it to pay for the coddling of the "incompetent" and "criminally inclined."

In a maneuver worthy of Hitler's Big Lie technique, Glazer seeks to persuade white workers that somehow their class interests differ from those of black, Latin, and other workers. Glazer is not simply a "nutty" right-wing professor although he is certainly an extreme reactionary and may well be crazy. His real significance lies in the mammoth publicity his personality and, most particularly, his arguments have received from the ruling class. Never mind that his argument is not backed up by facts. Never mind that the facts contradict everything he asserts. Never mind that the laws of economics show surplus value is robbed by capital from all sections of labor. The best lies are always the biggest, as Hitler said in **Mein Kampf**, and U.S. bosses are desperately trying to sucker white workers into a rotten, racist alliance against the interests of the entire working class.

DON'T BE A SUCKER FOR THE BOSSES' RACISM

The class interests of all workers are the same, regardless of skin color, national origin, or language. As long as one section of the working class can be superexploited, the whole class is, at the very least, exploited. The universal economic devastation caused by racist wage differentials is absolute and without exception in the United States.

In an essay entitled "Economic Effects of Racism" (**Schooling In a Corporate Society**, Martin Carnoy, ed., McKay, 1971), an economist named Michael Reich studied the correlation between black-white wage differentials and white workers' income. Taking his data from the 1960 U.S. Census (the latest available in 1970), he studied the 48 largest metropolitan areas in the U.S. From the facts, he drew the following conclusions:

- Where racist wage differentials are wider, income inequality among white people increases;
- **Without a single exception,** racism in every one of the 48 metropolitan areas has a significant unequalizing effect on white income distribution. Every time black workers' income gets one percent closer to white workers' income, there is a .2 percent decrease in income inequality among whites.
- As the racist wage differential increases, it is accompanied by decreases in income for the highest paid section of the white working class.
- Most of the income inequality among white people that is attributable to racist wage differentials is associated with increased income for the richest one percent of white families (i.e., the ruling class).

Reich's figures are taken from the 1960 census. Between 1975 and 1977, the income gap between black and white working class families widened, with the ratio of black to white income declining from 62% to 57%. Therefore, since the study was published, the overall class exploitation made possible by racism has increased significantly.

The wages of all workers are determined by the lowest wage any worker gets.

The conclusion is inescapable: every time the racist wage differential narrows, the working class as a whole benefits, because the wages of all workers are determined by the **lowest** wage any worker gets. To put it another way, the maximum amount of surplus value the capitalists will part with is determined by the minimum amount they have to part with. On a simple reform basis, the day-to-day struggle for the preferential upgrading of black, Latin and other "minority" workers' wages serves the interest of the whole class. Most important, however, is the revolutionary implication of the fight to abolish racist divisions within the living standard of the working class. **As we pointed out above, the capitalists can exploit only because they can also superexploit.** Therefore, the struggle to wipe out their racist superprofits is inseparable from the struggle to wipe out the entire profit-system and win socialism, a workers' dictatorship under which we will control and distribute all the surplus we produce.

RACIST UNEMPLOYMENT: CLUB THAT BATTERS ALL WORKERS

Nothing more clearly illustrates both the bankruptcy and savagery of the capitalist system than the hard facts of racist unemployment, particularly the unemployment of black and Latin youth. With roads to be built, housing to be repaired and maintained, hospitals to be constructed and staffed, schools to be opened and lessons taught, garbage to be picked up, public transportation to be developed, snow to be cleared off the streets in winter—with all this and more to be done for workers—most services in the U.S. today are pathetically inadequate and disappearing fast. Moreover, millions

of workers who could do all these jobs and more must go without work because of the bosses' profit-lust.

In 1977, 13.9%, or 3,531,000, of all black people in the U.S. were unemployed. That same year, 11%, or 1,330,000, of all Latin people were jobless. Unemployment for white people in 1977 was 6.2%, itself a staggering figure when one considers that it represents 11,500,000 jobless. Furthermore, as is usually the case, the government statistics from which these facts are taken underestimate reality. Many people who have given up looking for work are not classified in the labor force. Those in the military are not classified in the labor force. In 1975, for example, the total number of enlisted personnel in the bosses' armed forces was 2,930,000. Of these, 16.1%, or more than 470,000, were black. Since the black population of the U.S. is roughly 11.5%, it is clear that unemployed black youth are press-ganged into the capitalist army in large numbers—and, in war time, most of them are given the most dangerous front line assignments. During U.S. imperialism's Vietnam debacle, 40% of all front-line casualties were black or Latin soldiers.

The current figures for youth unemployment expose this system as racist to the core.

- In 1954, the jobless rate for youths 16 to 19 years old was 16.5% for blacks against 12.1% for whites—not exactly a picture of prosperity. Even the "good old days" weren't so hot. However, by 1978, the unemployment rate had climbed to 13.9% for white youth and soared to 36.3% of black youth.
- Unemployment for black people between the ages of 20 and 24 is 20.7% and 9.5% for white workers. The figure for black unemployment is more than double what it was in 1968, when the ghetto rebellions against racism had reached their peak.
- More young people 18 to 24 years old—black, Latin, Asian, Native American, and white—are in local jails than in the Job Corps and other federal service programs combined.
- White people whom the system forces to drop out of high school have a staggering unemployment rate of 22.3%. However, the figure for black college graduates—27.2%—is even worse.

(Sources: New York **Times**, 3/11/79; **The Illusion of Black Progress**, National Urban League, 1978.

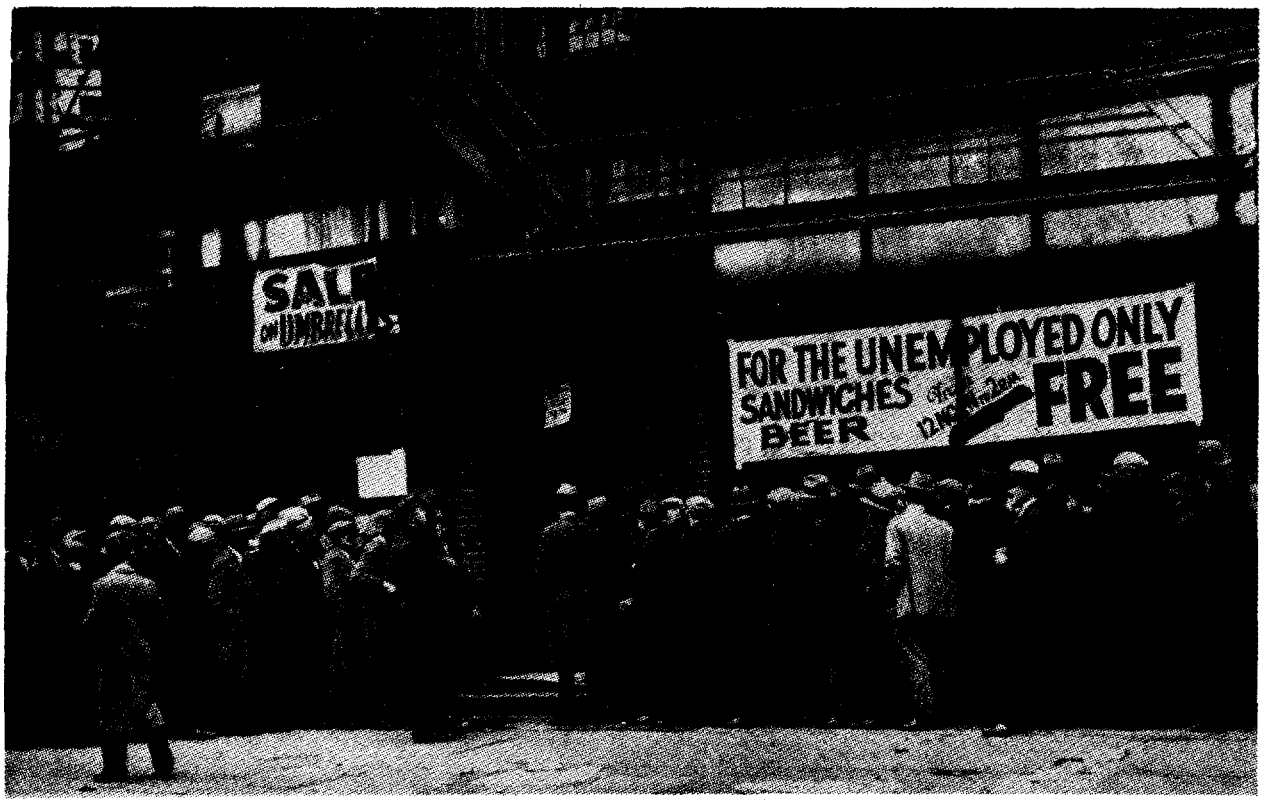
Inevitably, now that the U.S. economy has plunged into one of its periodic "recessions," unemployment will zoom still higher for the whole working class.

Various capitalist sycophants such as Glazer, Sen. Patrick Moynihan—a former colleague of Glazer's at Harvard-MIT and a leading racist "theorist," and Edward Banfield, among others, have scribbled volumes to "prove" the racist lie that black, Latin, and other minority workers get jobs and are promoted at the expense of white workers. This Nazi-like scapegoating formed the ideological backdrop of the recent Bakke decision against affirmative action programs and also inspires acts of terror by the KKK. However, these ideas also influence many white people who oppose racism in principle, but remain convinced that the only way to "get ahead" is to come from a minority group. A good rule of thumb for workers to follow is: if the boss tells you something, believe the opposite. It certainly applies in this case.

Racist unemployment in particular is indispensable to the capitalist system.

In the first place, despite the rantings of Glazer and Co., two things can't occupy the same space at the same time. If black people are getting all the jobs, why is the rate of racist unemployment growing astronomically?

In the second place, and far more significant, is the fact that unemployment and racist unemployment in particular



Marx pointed out that capitalism required a huge "reserve army of the unemployed" to drive down wages and increase profits. Above, the reserve army on maneuvers in Detroit, 1934.

are indispensable to the capitalist system. Long ago, Marx proved that capitalism requires a "reserve army of unemployed." Since capitalist production is geared toward exchange value (profits) rather than use value (goods and services to elevate the material and cultural standard of the masses), full employment under this system is impossible. Even during the biggest "boom" periods (times of capital expansion) in U.S. history, the rate of unemployment was always around 5%. By keeping a significant portion of the working class jobless, the capitalists have at their beck and call a sledge-hammer that drives down the wages of everybody else and can also be used as a strike-breaking force. In periods of economic expansion, the army of unemployed is used to depress wages and minimize the social services the capitalists must provide to keep workers alive. In periods of economic decline and crisis like the present, unemployment plays the same role, but even more sharply.

For example, in the summer of 1979, 43,000 U.S. automobile workers were laid off indefinitely. Many of them were black. These layoffs were caused uniquely by the sharpening contradictions within the worldwide capitalist system: relative inefficiency and obsolescence of U.S. plant capacity caused by the waste of the Vietnam war, inter-imperialist rivalry leading to OPEC's price hikes, corresponding unprofitability of building large "gas guzzlers," etc.

Obviously, no worker in the automobile industry can benefit from these layoffs. Fighting to prevent them requires an aggressive strategy that rejects all forms of racism within workers' organizations. For years, our party has put forth the demand of 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay as the only organizing approach under capitalism that can make a serious dent in overall unemployment and at the same time reduce the racist unemployment differential. Marx called the shorter work-week demand revolutionary in its implications because of all demands workers can make on the ruling class, it alone reduces the amount of surplus the bosses can force us to produce for them **before we produce it.**

If full employment under capitalism is impossible, then it follows that full employment is possible only under socialism. The present system can take pictures of pock-marks on the moon but can't even fill the potholes on city

Chart IV

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF BENIGN NEGLECT

Infant, Maternal, Fetal and Neonatal Death Rates By Color, 1940 to 1967

Type	1940	1950	1960	1965	1967
Infant Deaths[1]	47.0	29.2	26.0	24.7	22.4
White	43.2	26.8	22.9	21.5	19.7
Nonwhite	73.8	44.5	43.2	40.3	35.9
Maternal Deaths[2]	376.0	83.3	37.1	31.6	28.0
White	319.8	61.1	26.0	21.0	19.5
Nonwhite	773.5	221.6	97.9	83.7	69.5
Fetal Deaths[3]	(NA)	19.2	16.1	16.2	15.6
White	(NA)	17.1	14.1	13.9	13.5
Nonwhite	(NA)	32.5	26.8	27.2	25.8
Neonatal Deaths[4]	28.8	20.5	18.7	17.7	16.5
White	27.2	19.4	17.2	16.1	15.0
Nonwhite	39.7	27.5	26.9	25.4	23.8

1-Deaths per 1000 live births, infants under one year.
2-Deaths per 100,000 from deliveries and complications of childbirth, pregnancy and the puerperium.
3-Per 1000 live births, 20 weeks gestation or less.
4-Per 1000 live births, infants under 28 days old.

Adapted from Allan Chase's *The Legacy of Malthus*

streets. The racist aspect of unemployment is the link that pulls the entire chain. Because the bosses can hire black workers last and fire them first, because they can herd Mexican workers across the borders like cattle and force them to work illegally for less than starvation wages, because they can force Chinese immigrants to work in garment centers for under $2 an hour under the threat of immediate firing, they can also threaten the job security of everyone else.

The last thing we need is to be suckered by the bosses' racism into aping capitalist competition among ourselves. Racist unemployment threatens the livelihood of every worker. Conversely, as Marx wrote long ago: "as long as there is one worker who needs work but cannot find it, the hours of labor are too long." The fight against racist unemployment, the fight for "30 for 40," and the fight for socialism cannot be separated.

HEALTH CARE UNDER CAPITALISM: RACIST GENOCIDE

In 1969, Arthur Jensen, a Berkeley "psychologist," published a major racist article in the **Harvard Education Review**. In this "masterpiece," he argued that the performance of black children on IQ tests could be explained by the fact that the number of "intelligence genes" in the black population was lower than in the white population. His sources for this updated Nazi tract included many of the racist pseudo-scientists who serve the bosses by explaining that the horrors, inequalities, and sufferings caused by capitalism are the product of a grand biological design, and that therefore nothing can be done about them. Jensen's purpose, in part, was to justify racist school budget cuts that, like all aspects of racism, would eventually lower standards for all working people and their allies.

In his version of master-race eugenics Jensen summoned no less an authority than Daniel P. Moynihan. This former Harvard professor and presidential "advisor," now a senator from New York, made the incredible statement that by the 1960s, "...one-half of Negro families could be considered middle-class and above." Moynihan's purpose was to justify the policy of "benign neglect" toward black people and other "minorities." Obviously the ruling class has access to the statistics presented in this article. Moynihan, in typical bourgeois idealist fashion, presented no facts to support his statement. He was simply and cynically trying to justify a government policy of massive cutbacks in health, education, and welfare. He—and his bosses—knew that racism was the opening wedge for selling the cuts and then spreading them. In economic terms, the purpose of the cuts was to reduce the amount of surplus value the capitalists allot to maintaining the working class healthy enough to show up on the job and produce future workers. In 1976, **Business Week** estimated that **the crisis of U.S. capitalism had created a $4 trillion capital shortage, and that driving down living standards domestically would become a major tactic for reversing the situation. Because of their racist superprofits, the hands of the U.S. ruling class are soiled with the blood of millions.**

In 1975, the infant mortality rate of black children was 24.2 per 100,000 live births. For white children it was 14.2. The disparity is enormous enough, but to understand its meaning, we need to examine it historically, in its relation to overall life expectancy, and in comparison to figures for other countries. Chart IV shows the "Infant, Maternal, Fetal, and Neonatal Death Rates, by

Chart V

INFANT MORTALITY AND LIFE EXPECTANCY FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES

	Infant Deaths per 1000 Live Births Yearly	Estimated Life Span at Birth	
		Male	Female
Sweden	9.2	72.12	77.66
Finland	10.1	65.89	74.21
Netherlands	11.0	71.2	77.2
Japan	11.3	70.49	75.92
Iceland	11.4	70.7	76.3
Norway	11.8	71.24	77.43
France	12.1	68.6	76.4
Denmark	12.2	70.7	76.10
Switzerland	13.2	70.15	76.17
Luxembourg	13,5	NA	NA
Canada	15.5	69.34	76.36
England & Wales	15.9	68.9	75.1
East Germany	16.0	68.85	74.19
Byelorussian S.S.R.	16.0	68.0	76.0
New Zealand	16.2	68.19	74.30
UNITED STATES	16.5	67.4	75.2
Chile	70.9	60.48	66.01
Liberia	159.2	45.8	44.0

Data from *United Nations Demographic Yearbook* (1974)

Color, 1940-1968." By comparing it to the figures given above, we can once again see the intensification of racism—between 1967 and 1975 the death rate declined slightly for white infants, but actually rose for black infants.

The true significance of the fact that black infant mortality in the U.S. is on the rise does not become clear until we examine Chart V. Here we see that with an overall infant mortality rate of 16.5 per 100,000 live births, the United States lags behind sixteen other industrial capitalist countries, and that life expectancy for U.S. adults ranks nearly as low. Infant mortality and life expectancy are two widely-used indicators of a population's overall health and socio-economic status. True to form, life expectancy for black people in the U.S. was 62.9 years for black men, 68.9 years for white men, 71.2 years for black women, and 76.6 years for white women (1974 figures).

Thus, even under "normal" capitalism, without wars and fascism, **racism kills**. Because the bosses are too greedy to provide minimal preventive measures, decent housing, sanitary working conditions, and adequate diet for workers—particularly the most oppressed—millions of lives are lost, destroyed, or maimed on the altar of Profit. The interconnection between racist theory and practice may be seen clearly around the issues of health care and life expectancy. An academic storm-troop of parasitic propagandists tells the bosses that wealth, social status, basic health, intelligence, unemployment, success in school, the knack for buying low and selling high, as well as everything else are "in the genes." The bosses can then base policy (profitably for them) on the assumption that not too much can be done about infant mortality, low life expectancy, and other consequences of capitalist oppression and racist differentials, because genes equal fate and you can't quarrel with Kismet.

Racism has in fact been at the core of U.S. capitalism's historical failure to provide even minimal health standards. Back in 1915, a Hungarian immigrant doctor named Goldberger set out to prove that pellagra—a disease that killed millions of poor people in the U.S. South—could be cured. Prevalent theory at the time, as set forth by Charles Davenport, who was head of both the U.S. government Pellagra Commission and of the ultraracist Eugenics Record Office, was that pellagra infected only those of "weaker stock," (inferior genes). The infamous ERO had been set up with money from the Harriman railroad tycoons. Its function was to "prove" the inferiority of non-white people, immigrants, Jews poor people, and in general all non-Aryans. "Theorists" associated with the E.R.O.

Capitalism does not blanch at exploiting even the youngest of workers. Immigrant children, above, in 1904, sort through rubbish baskets for scrap that could be sold to supplement their parent's low wages.

later travelled to Nazi Germany and maintained cordial relations with Hitler's top "raceologists."

In the course of his experiments, Goldberger proved that pellagra was caused by the low-vitamin, high-fat/carbohydrate diet of poor people and that it was therefore non-communicable and preventable. The E.R.O. rejected his findings and polemicized against him. It took nearly a generation before the U.S. capitalist government provided food relief for the poor workers of the South—during the Great Depression, when the bosses were afraid that failure to grant significant reforms might help win the working class to the goal of revolution. The racism that held back dietary improvement led directly or indirectly to millions of pellagra-related deaths. Ironically, the major targets of Davenport's master-race ravings were the poor white people of the South.

Since, as we have seen, the economic effects of racism are intensifying, the story above could be retold dozens of times in a new form today. Racism continues to cause millions of preventable deaths. For example, in 1969, the same year that Jensen published his Hitlerite genetic lies and stated that malnutrition was irrelevant to life in the U.S., the scientific director of the National Institute of Child Health and Mental Development, wrote: "**...one-fourth of the nation's children are living in homes in which incomes are insufficient to meet the costs of procuring many of the essentials of life, particularly food.**" Only a society based on the law of maximum profit can contain the howling contradiction of farmers destroying cattle because food prices aren't high enough, while the diet of 25% of U.S. children—black, Latin, Asian, Native American, and white—is inadequate. Capitalism—and the racism that brought it to power and keeps it there—continue to make progress in one respect and one respect alone: they are now capable of murdering more people than ever.

MOST BLACK AND LATIN PEOPLE ARE WORKERS

In the course of the last decade, a variety of racist myths about black people, Latin people, and people from other "minority" groups has been spread by the bosses in order to sharpen divi-

Chart VI

INDUSTRY OF THE EMPLOYED POPULATION: 1977

Major Industry Group	Black	White	Percent Black
Total employed (in thousands)	8,384	80,734	9
Percent	100	100	(X)
Agriculture, Forestry and fisheries	3	4	7
Mining	—	1	3
Construction	5	6	7
Manufacturing	24	23	10
Durable Goods	14	14	9
Motor Vehicles and Equipment	2	1	14
Transportation, communications, public utilities	8	6	11
Wholesale trade	2	4	6
Retail Trade	11	17	6
Finance, insurance and real estate	4	6	7
Service Industries	36	28	12
Professional and related services	23	19	11
Health Services, including hospitals	12	8	13
Education	10	8	11
Public Administration	8	5	13

Abridged chart from *Social and Economic Status of the Black Population,* U.S. Commerce Dept., Census Bureau

sions within the working class. We have already seen Moynihan's lie that black people are in the "middle class." His colleague Banfield wrote a venomous diatribe against the "lower class" and advocated abolishing the minimum wage and reducing compulsory education to nine years instead of twelve. Banfield's work helped racist politicians make demagogic attacks against "welfare chislers." Glazer's **Affirmative Discrimination** portrays black people as connivers scheming to defraud the "majority" of its hard-earned living standard.

In one form or another racist stereotypes have been around as long as racism itself. But once again, facts are stubborn things. They won't go away simply because the ruling class has an interest in making them go away. And the fact is that most black people, Latin people, and other minorities are **workers** or potential workers. Not only are they workers but they hold a disproportionately high number of jobs in the heavy industries that form the backbone of U.S. capitalist profit and the home base of U.S. imperialism. Because of this relation to the means of production —and because of their super-exploited status—these workers are a key force for socialist revolution.

Despite the staggering rate of black and Latin unemployment, 8,384,000 black people and 2,287,000 Latin people were working at the time of the most recent government surveys. Furthermore, 57.2% of all Latin men and 28.9% of all Latin women were "blue-collar" workers. "Blue-collar" does not include farm-workers, whose rate of superexploitation is among the highest in the U.S. In the case of black workers, the available information is more detailed. Looking at Chart VI we see:

- 5% of all black workers (419,200) were in construction. Despite racism making this a "white" industry in the better-paying jobs, black construction workers nonetheless represent 7% of the total.
- 24% of all black workers (2,012,260) are in manufacturing. Of these, 14% (1,173,760) are in durable goods (heavy industry).
- 2% of all black workers (167,680) are in the automobile industry. This is double the percentage of white workers in auto and represents 14% of the total labor force directly involved in making automobiles. Since one

Bakke decision, overturning affirmative action programs, was based on phony claim of "reverse discrimination," which the ruling class pushes to increase division between black and white.

of every six jobs in the U.S. is related to auto, black workers constitute an even more significant force in this key industry than the original figure would indicate.

- 8% of all black workers (670,720)—as against 6% of all white workers—are in transportation, communications, and other "public" utilities.
- 12% of all black workers (1,006,080)—against 8% of all white workers—are in health services, including hospitals. Municipal hospitals, in which the proportion of black personnel would be even higher than in small towns or rural areas—have been targeted by the ruling class financial wizards as a model for the fascist reorganization of private industry.

In view of these hard facts, the reasons for many acts of overt racism by the ruling class become crystal-clear. The vicious campaign against "illegal" immigrant workers—supported by traitor Cesar Chavez; the frantic propaganda by union hacks to drum up anti-foreign jingoism ("Buy American") among garment workers; the persistent attempt by KKK fascists to gain a foothold in the UAW; the hullabaloo surrounding the Weber case and other racist attacks against "affirmative action"— all these and countless other manifestations of organized racism have a dual purpose: **to head off and smash working class unity where it is decisive —at the point of production—and also to lay the groundwork for a fascist labor movement.**

The great ghetto rebellions of the 1960s and the strike wave that paralleled them had a profoundly disturbing effect on the ruling class because they proved a) **that black, Latin and other minority workers were capable of organizing massive acts of militancy and violence against the state; and** b) **that, especially on the job, white workers would often follow and unite with this leadership because the rebellions, wildcats, etc. sharpened their understanding of their own class interests.** The ruling class saw the implications of these actions.

Chart VII

BROAD OCCUPATION GROUP OF EMPLOYED PERSONS OF SPANISH ORIGIN 16 YEARS OLD AND OVER BY SEX AND TYPE OF SPANISH ORIGIN

Sex and Broad Occupation Group	Total Spanish Origin	Mexican Origin	Puerto Rican Origin	Cuban Origin	Other Spanish Origin
MALE					
Total employed persons in thousands	2,287	1,392	269	169	456
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar workers	23.4	16.8	28.1	36.6	36.0
Blue-collar workers	57.2	63.3	51.3	43.8	47.4
Service workers	14.8	12.9	19.4	19.6	16.4
Farm workers	4.6	7.1	1.2	–	0.4
FEMALE					
Total employed persons in thousands	1,397	766	146	133	352
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
White-collar workers	44.4	40.9	50.7	46.6	48.6
Blue-collar workers	28.9	26.0	33.8	38.3	29.8
Service workers	25.2	30.5	15.4	15.1	21.6
Farm workers	1.5	2.6	0.2	–	–

Data from *Persons of Spanish Origin in the United States, March 1978*—U.S. Commerce Dept., Census Bureau

They could perceive the revolutionary psychology that underlay the rebellions. The rebellions themselves were almost exclusively spontaneous, without centralized political organization that had the goal of attacking the system. The bosses knew from logic and history that once black, Latin, and white workers in industry, transportation, and communications became infused with revolutionary communist ideology and organization, the capitalist system in the United States wouldn't stand a ghost of a chance.

As the crisis of their system sharpened and their profit rate began to plummet, the rulers made an obscene marriage between racism and anti-communism. Their strategy included the following features:

- **Terror.** The re-organization of large urban police departments and the creation of special Tactical Patrol Forces, SWAT teams, and the like, whose primary purpose is to use racist violence against masses of people, dates from this period of rebellions and strikes.
- **An epidemic of revised racist ideology.** Jensen's garbage was published in 1969—at the height of the rebellions. It was followed by a barrage of racist tracts by Banfield, Moynihan, Glazer, Herrnstein, Shockley, and E.O. Wilson.
- **The cancerous spreading of fascist gangs.** The revival of the Ku Klux Klan has been well documented. Various Nazi sects, sporting swastikas, advocating genocide, and paying homage to the Fuhrer, have arisen as well. In cities like Boston, segregationists have sprung up homegrown and have carried out attacks against black and Latin people, as well as anti-racist whites. PLP and InCAR have been instrumental in leading violent opposition to these thugs.
- **Social-fascist labor "leadership."** The rebellions and strikes proved that the old-style piecards could no longer lead the working class down the dead-end road of pacifism and class collaboration. The bosses came up with "new" faces, such as the UFW's Chavez (who fasts with Kennedy and helps the Immigra-

tion Service round up undocumented workers); the UAW's Fraser (who blabbers about social reform while screwing auto workers for the benefit of Chrysler's foundering bosses); and AFSCME's Gotbaum (who waves rubber daggers at New York City's racist Mayor while signing over city workers' pension funds to the big banks.

- **A variety of no-win diversions for students, intellectuals and others who were active against the Vietnam war.** These include the love-the-earth-hate-the-people environmental clean-up fraud designed to make people attack each other for the bosses' industrial and automotive pollution and the anti-nuclear movement, subsidized by $800,000,000 GM stockholder Stewart Mott and sponsored by strikebreaker Jerry Brown, whose other activities include a love-affair with the California oil industry.

As the economic crisis of capitalism deepens, the bosses find it increasingly impossible to rule in the "old" way. Beset with conflicts among themselves, forced to squeeze greater amounts of surplus-value out of the flesh and sweat of the working class, confronted with the inevitability of war to recover their eroding empire, they can no longer indefinitely maintain the democratic facade of their class dictatorship. As they increase racist superexploitation, they must also increase open racist terror.

At the same time, they are faced with an enormous contradiction, in that they must also win millions of workers—the same black, Latin, and white workers whom they underpay, underemploy, undernourish, starve, and murder—to their fascist line and practices.

Even though, as we have seen, racism kills millions of people yearly in our country alone under "normal" circumstances, the profit system cannot simply commit total genocide against all black, Latin, and other minority workers. The U.S. ruling class must not only super-exploit and oppress black, Latin, and other "minority" workers, it must not only convince white workers of the lie that racism is in their class interests, but it must also somehow win "minority" workers to rally around the flag of the capitalist system and to kill or die for it in a bosses' war. Thus, the ruling class' strategy contains one more deadly element.

Unity of all workers is needed to defeat racism and the system that breeds it. Members and friends of PL and InCAR picket Brooklyn immigration jail, demanding unconditional amnesty for undocumented immigrants, 1978.

NATIONALISM: ANOTHER CAPITALIST CLUB AGAINST ALL WORKERS

Since the ultrareactionary "Back to Africa" movement of the 1920s, nationalism in one form or another has functioned as a bosses' tool for splitting the working class movement by cutting it off from the militant leadership of the most oppressed workers. In the 1960s, as rebellions and strikes mounted, the ruling class once again sought to lull black and Latin workers with nationalist lies. "Black power," "Chicano power," "Community Control"—every kind of nationalist ruse was devised to divert the most immediate victims of racism from the communist goal of workers' power and to prevent them from uniting with their class brothers and sisters. Militant black workers were told to form nationalist caucuses and to fight for more black foremen. Asian students active against the Vietnam war were encouraged to join "Third World Liberation Fronts." Puerto Rican **barrio** residents were advised to demand more Puerto Rican cops. The more the ruling class pushed racism, the more it needed nationalism as the other side of its anti-working class wedge.

The basic premise of nationalism—like the basic premise of racism—is the suicidal concept of **all-class unity**. Racism/nationalism urges white workers to ally with white bosses, black workers to ally with black bosses, Latin workers to unite with Latin bosses, and so on. Our party says: **A BOSS IS A BOSS IS A BOSS.** Of course, in our country today, almost all of the big bosses are white, but there are black, Latin, and other "minority" capitalists, and they suck surplus-value from the hides of "their" workers and make profits just as surely as their white counterparts. Black foremen have the same relationship to workers as white foremen. Chicano cops carry guns and break strikes just like white cops. **Nationalism—whether it's the nationalism of "my country," "my roots," "my race," "my people," is capitalism, because it retains the fundamental class relationships of the profit system. As a result, from the point of view of workers, nationalism is always a loser.**

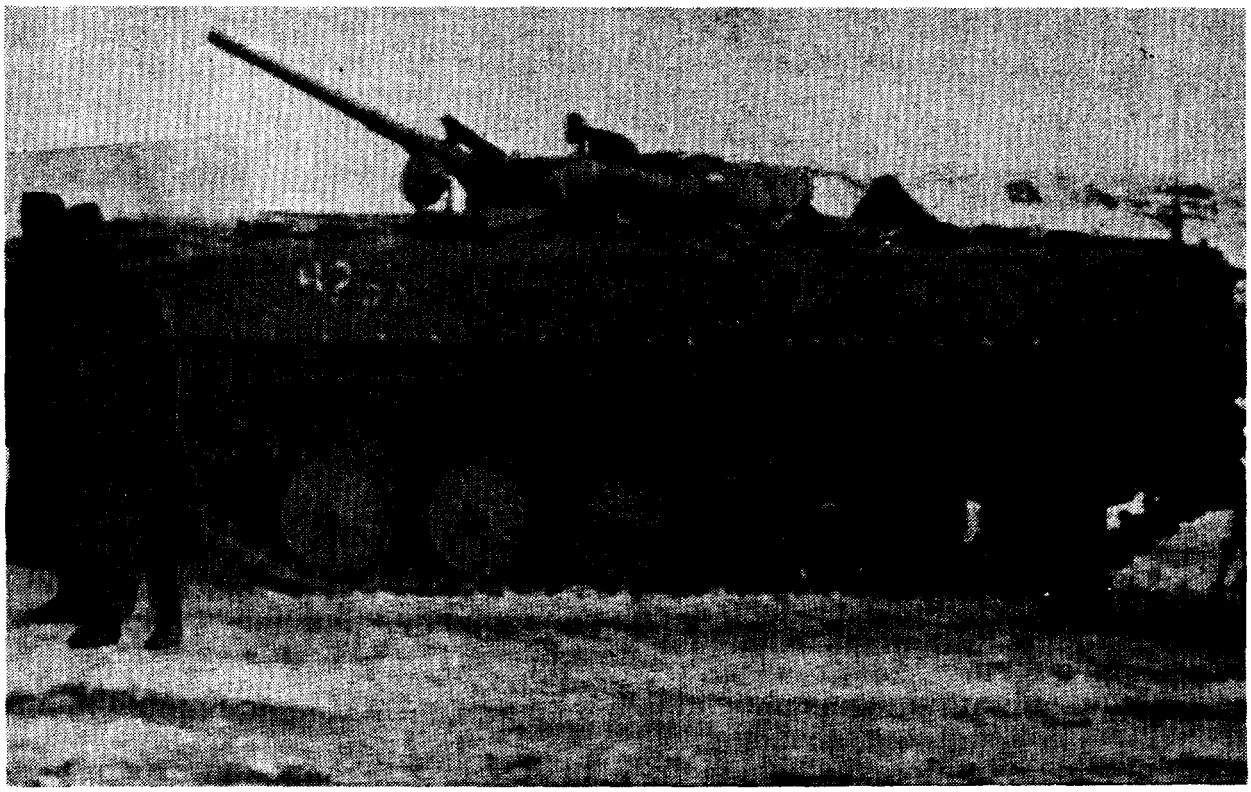
Since the 1960s, the ruling class has systematically promoted "minority" elected officials, policemen, army officers, government appointees, etc. By and large, this campaign has been successful. In addition to these officials—there is a small army of "loyal opposition" "minority" hacks in other areas: Chavez, Jesse Jackson, Alex Haley, various entertainment and sports personalities, magazine publishers, bank and corporation officials, college deans, etc.

The ruling class points to all this as progress. However, if we examine things from a class point of view, the promotion of black and Latin elected officials and the like has been in direct proportion to the accelerated increase in racist attacks of all types against the working class and to the rise of fascism. During World War II, the Nazis established a Judenrat (Jewish Council) in each con-

From the point of view of workers, nationalism is always a loser.

quered territory to aid them in herding the Jewish masses into the slave labor camps without provoking rebellion. No less an authority than Adolf Eichmann (the Nazi in charge of transporting people to the slave and death camps) stated that without the Judenrats, the Nazis would have succeeded in murdering only half of the 6,000,000 Jews who perished in the camps.

Andrew Young, Chavez, and Co. form the modern Judenrat of the U.S. ruling class. To them falls the dirty work of convincing the working class youth of Bedford-Stuyvesant, the South Bronx, Roxbury, Watts, and the ghettoes across the country that the looming imperialist holocaust for oil and markets is worth lining up to die for. Theirs is the criminal duty of telling the black and Latin workers in the steel mills, auto plants, and factories that low wages, speedup,



Soviet troops in Afghanistan signal a new stage in the coming of world war and fascism, as U.S. bosses find their interests threatened everywhere by their Soviet rivals. The bosses' answer? More racism. Our answer? Revolution!

and rotten living conditions are a small price to pay for "patriotism." These contemptible leeches are every bit as bad as the liberal racists and KKKers whom they ape and will receive the same treatment from the working class. Nationalism, like racism, is a trap door that leads workers nowhere but to impoverishment and an early grave. Like racism, it must be rejected and smashed.

HOW TO WIN

Ultimately, the law of history is forward motion. Over thousands of years, class struggle has forged ahead out of slavery, feudalism, and—in the case of several great revolutions—out of capitalism itself. Today the whole world, including the once-socialist nations—is under the yoke of the profit system. But socialist revolution, the universal establishment of proletarian dictatorship, and the violent end of exploitation, racism, and superexploitation are **inevitable.**

However, none of these developments will occur by itself. As we pointed out earlier, the struggle for socialism cannot succeed without an all-out working class battle to crush racism. Socialism will wipe out the super- and maximum profits that constitute racism's material basis, but in order to reach this point, the working class must destroy every trace of racist ideology within its own ranks. History shows, as in the case of Nazi Germany, that virulent racism is the prelude and necessary condition for fascism and imperialist world war. It also shows that under certain circumstances, large numbers of workers can be won to carry out racist murder on a mass scale, against their own class interests.

The U.S. ruling class is paving the way for fascism and war. **BUT THE BOSSES CAN BE TAKEN.** Racism, which lies at the source of their power and their billions, is also their Achilles heel. Each superexploited worker is a potential revolutionary leader for the entire working class. Each unemployed youth forced into the imperialist military is a potential recruit to the civil war for workers' power. Nowhere is it written on tablets of stone that the U.S. ruling class will succeed in establishing fascism as solidly as did their predecessors in Nazi Germany. Their ability to do so is predicated entirely upon their ability to win over large sections of the working class to aggressive racism/nationalism.

RACIST PROFITS

Only a tiny fraction of the working class has been won to this filth. After the bosses' Vietnam catastrophe, most workers are unwilling to fight in an imperialist war. And because the falling rate of U.S. capitalist profit is so severe, the rulers have no big carrots or "New Deal" reform-type options left in their bag of tactics. Each move the imperialists make towards fascism and war only sharpens the class contradictions here and abroad and therefore widens the horizons of revolutionary organizing.

A broad classwide offensive against racism at this time is both necessary and possible. Necessary, because without it, we will never turn the imperialist war into a civil war for socialism. Possible, because the deepest material, political, and cultural aspirations of the working class lie in the fight for a world without capitalists and without their racism. Nonetheless, racism remains the greatest obstacle today to the revolutionary progress of workers and their allies. Crushing it, both internally and externally, requires revolutionary strategy, revolutionary tactics, and, above all, revolutionary organization.

Here is our plan for winning.

● **Join and build the Progressive Labor Party.** Only a revolutionary communist party which knows that racist superprofits and racist ideology are necessary features of capitalism can lead the fight against racism. Only such a party can lead the fight for **state power**. Ours is a party of a new type. The old communist movement failed because, among other errors, it remained blinded by nationalist illusions. In our country, these illusions led to separate black caucuses, demands for "minority" oppressors, etc. We reject this approach completely. We stand and fight for socialism and multiracial unity. We have a long way to go, but our leadership and membership of black, Latin, Asian, and white workers and students reflects the wave of the future for the working class.

Read and sell the PLP newspaper, **Challenge-Desafio**, **PL Magazine**, and other party publications. The idea of revolutionary multi-racial unity expressed in our literature can become a material weapon for our class once millions of workers and their allies begin to put it into practice.

● **Join the International Committee Against Racism** (InCAR). InCAR is the only organization in the U.S. that fights racism on a class basis and therefore rejects all nationalist pitfalls. With the collaboration and leadership of our party, it has been instrumental in launching a number of vital anti-racist campaigns, including the struggles against the academic Nazis, racists, budget cuts in education; and a summer-long campaign that awakened the anti-racist sentiments of Boston workers and defeated ROAR, the anti-busing fascist group in 1975.

● InCAR has also organized violent attacks against KKKers and Nazis in dozens of U.S. cities; and is building a massive petition drive to mobilize students, workers, and soldiers in militant anti-racist alliance against the bosses' plans for fascism and world war;

● **Build PLP fractions and InCAR chapters on the job to** fight for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay, organize for workers' power in the labor movement,

Each move the imperialists make widens the horizons for revolutionary organizing.

struggle for multi-racial and international unity against fascists, fascism and the coming imperialist war, and prepare workers for the seizure of power.

● **Build PLP fractions and InCAR chapters on campus to: Develop a revolutionary, anti-racist worker-student alliance, mobilize masses of students to kick out the racist theorists, win students to confront and attack Klansmen, Nazis, segregationists, and other fascists, organize against the coming war by smashing campus imperialist think-tanks, routing military recruiters and recruiters for imperialist corporations with South African and other similar investments.**

● **Build PLP fractions and InCAR chapters in the imperialist military to: turn the guns around against bosses' war, fascism, and racism, and for workers' and socialism.** PL★

400 Attack Racist War Plans

WASHINGTON, D.C., Dec. 1—"Rocky, Carter, you will boil; We won't fight for the bosses' oil," "Make war on the bosses; not on Iranian workers," "Deport the Shah; Not Iranian students," "We won't fight for Rocky's gas; Kick the bosses in the ass," "Carter, the Shah, the Ku Klux Klan; All a part of the bosses' plan" were some of the chants that broke the myth built by the bosses that everyone in the U.S. supports Chase Manhattan-David Rockefeller-Kissinger-Carter's plans for World War Three.

Four hundred black, Latin, Asian, Iranian and white workers and students, young and old, marched towards the White House and McPherson Park. Only an army of cops stopped us from reaching the symbolic seat of power, although a detachment from the march did break Carter's ban on protest in front of the White House. We were supported by many onlookers, some giving us the clenched fist of solidarity and many joining the march.

The **Washington Post** and the cops were so astonished by the support we got that they tried to attribute it to the fact that "most demonstrators were Americans and not Iranians and the passers-by were confused," and because "it was a week-end and there weren't that many people outside." The fact is that many people realized that although "the Shah has a friend at Chase Manhattan," U.S. and Iranian workers do not.

The march started with a militant rally where a black South African fighter against apartheid, a Latin gar-

ment worker and several others addressed the gathering about the need to fight against racist hysteria directed at Iranian students in the U.S. and the bosses' drive for another war, which would make the Vietnam War look like Sesame Street. Along the route of the march 500 **Challenge-Desafios** were sold and thousands of leaflets distributed. When we were within two blocks of the White House, we started running towards it to break the ban on picketing. We took the cops by surprise. All of a sudden, motorcycle cops rushed up to protect the seat of power of the bourgeoisie because, as the **Washington Post** stated, "The government doesn't want to give Iranian workers the impression that the White House is under seige." Only this small army of cops was able to block our path towards the bosses' bunker. We then marched towards nearby McPherson Park where we again rallied.

While the main contingent of marchers was listening to speeches from workers and students, including an Iranian student who gave greetings to our demonstration, a group of comrades was breaking the ban on picketing the White House. When the comrades matched back, they were cheered by their brothers and sisters. The highlight of the rally was a speech by Mike Golash, PLP member from D.C. who is running for leadership of the Transit Workers Union here on an anti-racist and communist platform. Comrade Mike said, "Working people are not going to be suckered in by the people in the White House and on Wall Street . . . Their days are numbered." He also called for the return of the butcher Shah to Iran to pay for his crimes and denounced Khomeini as just another capitalist enemy of the Iranian working class.

This demonstration was indeed a major step towards the fight for revolution and against the bosses' plans for World War III and fascism. It is a movement that won't compromise the interests of workers and students around the world and that won't end until capitalism is crushed with socialist revolution.

Basebuilding Against Imperialism

PASADENA, CALIF., Feb. 12—Pasadena City College, Calif. InCAR'S anti-imperialist war rally of last week was met with resounding approval by over 200 students, almost one quarter of whom signed Committee Against Racism's anti-war petition. Students cheered when speakers noted the racist and imperialist aspects of world war and the fascist tactics that will be used by the bosses to build for war. At a time when right wing forces are trying to water down a militant anti-imperialist line with pacifism and individualistic libertarianism, InCAR demonstrated that Pasadena students will support the left! Three students came out of the crowd to speak in support of InCAR. A number of others helped pass out leaflets and solicit petition signatures. Still others, somewhat new to InCAR, assisted PLP members in selling **Challenge**. And a PL spokesperson was defended from an anti-communist attack.

InCAR's work at PCC is still in the early stages but is quickly moving to mass movement. The main task at hand is basebuilding—the consolidation of upwards of fifty new contacts—and struggle to sharpen our own analysis and strategy against opportunism. At the end of the rally, a "libertarian" was prevented from speaking. A struggle and discussion ensued as an InCAR to baseperson questioned InCAR leadership's strong action against the right-wing "libertarian." Such discussion is positive if it leads to a better understanding of opportunism and to enhanced efforts to insure a militant, multi-racial, anti-imperialist anti-war movement.

Anti-War Petition Builds InCAR

STONY BROOK, N.Y.—The fall semester at the State University of New York at Stony Brook was a period of growth and struggle for PLP nd the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR). In the course of the term hundreds of students who had never heard of us began actively discussing our ideas, an InCAR chapter was formed, and a multi-racial PL study group of 5 students began.

In September, few people knew about us. In the four months that followed, through our agitation and militant actions around the "We Won't Fight a Racist War" petition, the Iranian crisis and other issues, we changed that picture sharply. Ten students have joined InCAR, and between 7 and 50 attend bi-weekly chapter meetings. Our rallies have helped to destroy the myth that everyone is ready to line up behind KKKarter's war plans. The racist, anti-Iranian graffiti, attacking InCAR and the campus PL leader, only show the effectiveness of our work.

Our local anti-racist-war petition included demands against the revival of ROTC and the university's investments in South Africa and for more minority students and faculty and a big increase in financial aid for all students. The petition clearly identified for everyone what InCAR stands for. Along with the leaflets we put out nearly every other week, this gave our work a consistency that was key to our success.

Our actions showed that students will respond to and act on anti-racist and revolutionary ideas. Action is the key. We put a big dent in the myth that students are either cut-throat individualists interested only in grades or mellow potheads interested only in grades.

Our outlook of building a mass movement to turn around the coming imperialist war, and of relying on the majority of students and workers to be able to understand and use our politics was key to our actions against the bosses' Middle East war plans and military recruiting. We held a counter-demonstration against a pro-war, anti-Iran rally. Fifteen students attended the rally, while 20 people actively joined us. Over a hundred students gathered around for an hour afterward to discuss our action, and many bought **Challenge** and signed the petition. Physical confrontation is an important part of fighting the bourgeoisie and their agents.

We have also had three confrontations with Pres. Schmidt, the local arm of the capitalists. Linking the administration directly to the ruling class has been an effective way of bringing our politics to the campus.

All the new InCAR members and **Challenge** sellers emerged from classroom basebuilding and political discussion led by a PL teacher, showing what we have to gain by injecting our ideas into the classrooms which the

PL and InCAR demonstrate in November against the bosses' Middle East war plans.

Liberal Activists Call the Cops

NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 8—The liberal bosses are wasting no time in building a movement to try to channel the anti-war feeling that is growing among U.S. workers and students through the treadmill of electoral and pacifist politics. That was made abundantly clear today at an anti-draft rally of over 1,000 mainly white middle-class young people at Times Square, organized by a motley crew of liberal politicians and their revisionist (fake leftist)-pacifist toadies.

When members of the Committee Against Racism and the PLP began to speak on the bullhorn they brought with them, right in the middle of the rally, began distributing the call for an anti-imperialist war conference at Columbia University in March, and selling **Challenge-Desafio**, the hacks who organized the rally got quite upset. They certainly don't want anyone around who is putting forward the ideas of multi-racial unity, fighting racism or socialist revolution as the only way to stop the bosses' movement towards war and fascism, in part via registration and the draft. And they did what they do best—they called in New York's "worst," the cops. While they were conferring with their buddies about how to get rid of us, we were speaking with many of the demonstrators, and giving out over 500 calls to the conference—for which two people signed up on the spot. We will not let the liberals and phonies stop us from building our own anti-racist and anti-imperialist war movement to crush the warmongers, be they Teddy Ks or KKKarters.

ruling class uses as an assembly line for their ideas. If students and teachers don't do this, the bourgeoisie's ideas will hold sway.

Although our InCAR chapter is multi-racial and multi-national, including a number of Iranian students (giving us qualitative strength beyond the number of members), we have a long way to go. Given our level of activity, we could have signed up more than ten new members. The main obstacle to building InCAR was our own hesitancy—we must ask everyone to join.

Although several non-Party friends have been won to sell the paper, we must win more students to this. Our weekly sales of 40 to 50 are not enough on a campus of 20,000—only the communist ideas put forth in **Challenge** can tear people away from the deathgrip of bourgeois ideas. We must win the **C-D** sellers themselves into study groups to help them answer the questions their friends ask and to win them ultimately to party membership.

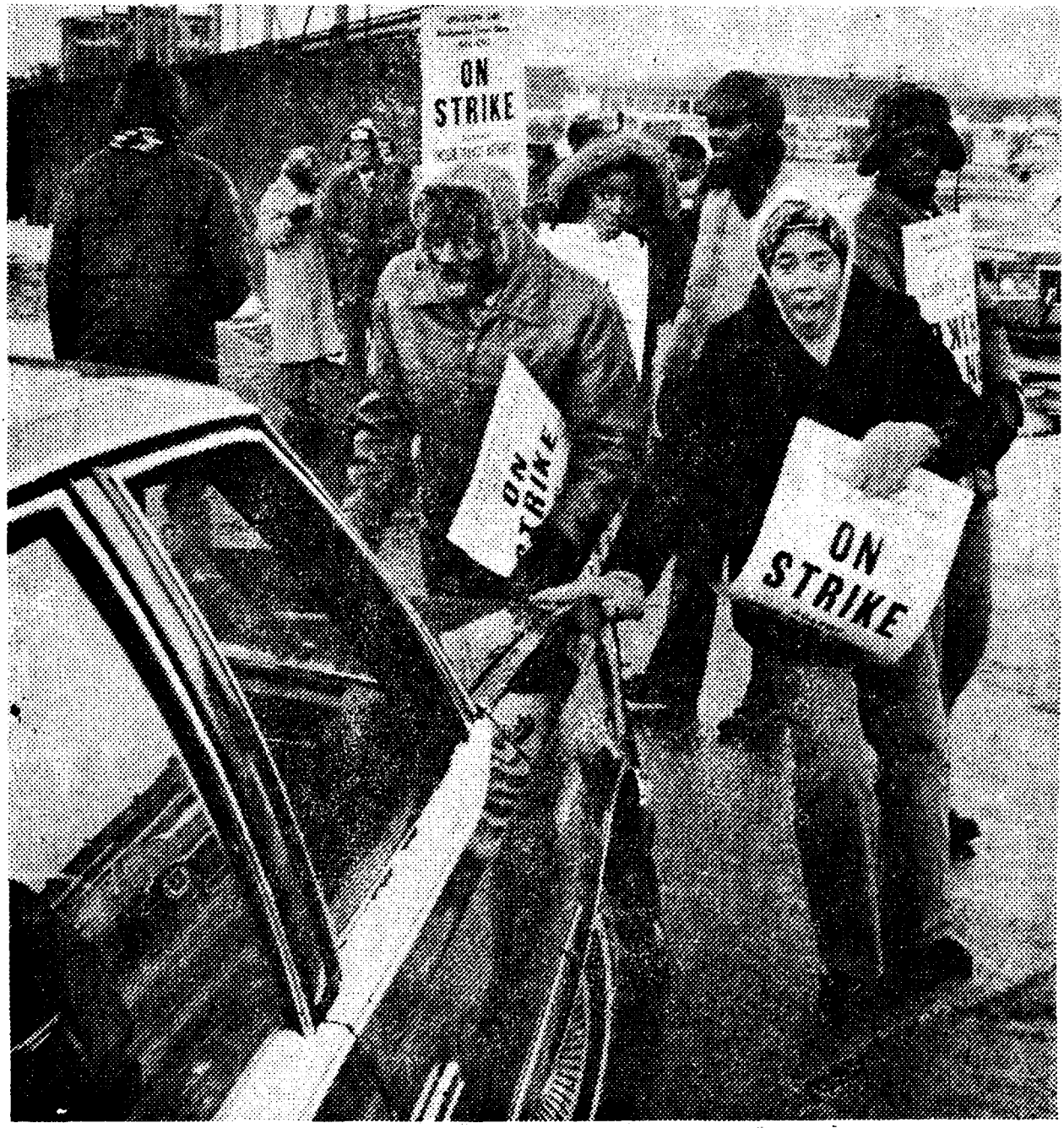
In addition, we must still win the battle to combine our political and personal lives. Academic work and "outside" friendships must not be viewed as antagonistic to our political work. "Putting politics in command" doesn't mean talking only politics morning, noon and night. It does mean beginning to view everything in terms of making revolution. The longer we wait on this question, the more power we allow the bourgeoisie to maintain over us.

STONY BROOK, N.Y., Feb. 7—Despite freezing cold and snow, Committee Against Racism and PLP held an anti-racist war rally here. Over a dozen black and white students, from the U.S., Puerto Rico and Iran, handed out 800 leaflets, sold dozens of **C-D's** and collected a few dozen signatures on the InCAR anti-war petition. Everyone here knows about InCAR and about our planned all-day teach-in. We are in the process of making PL a known item as well, by stepping up **Challenge** sales and handing out PL leaflets.

1,000 Sign Up Against the Klan

DELANO, CAL., Feb. 12—Over 1,000 people, mainly farmworkers and high school students, have signed the Committee Against Racism's anti-imperialist war petition in this area. Eighty-five percent of those whom we have asked to sign the petition did so, many without any hesitation. Of those who did not sign the petition, some thought that young people should defend the country, some said they did not even know about the threat of war, and some were veterans who said that massacres caused by the bosses' war are not the fault of capitalism but of God's will, etc.

The fact that over 1,000 have signed our petition shows that people are not easily brainwashed by the bosses' call for war. Many of those who signed the petition had already heard of the Committee Against Racism and the PLP. "Are you from the paper **Challenge-Desafio**," asked quite a few. Others wanted to know about the relationship between InCAR and PLP and asked for more information. Both InCAR and PLP are gaining the respect and trust of the working people of the San Joaquin Valley.



Chicago Transit Authority workers block carload of scabs attempting to cross the picket line during the December strike. Despite Calamity Jane Byrne's blustering, no trains or buses moved during the strike.

Transit Strike Moves the Working Class

CHICAGO, Dec. 17—This city ground to a halt this morning when 11,000 CTA (Chicago Transit Authority) workers, bus drivers, subway motormen, mechanics, conductors, ticket takers and office workers walked out, affecting one million riders. While Chicago has managed to function through many a tough winter, it is the power of united workers, not 2-degree weather, that can stop the bosses cold.

The bosses have a crisis on their hands. Last night the fire fighters' union voted overwhelmingly to authorize a strike in their fight for a union contract. The tank truck drivers who deliver gasoline for four major oil companies are on strike, producing a severe gas shortage. Chicago's school system "suddenly" discovered a $500 million deficit in operating funds. It is unable to pay its bills and is barely keeping the schools open on a day-to-day basis.

The contract between the CTA and the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 expired on Dec. 1. Before that deadline, the CTA and Mayor Jane Byrne had announced that transit workers would have to accept a reduction in their cost-of-living (COLA) clause because the city "could no longer afford it." The workers, having felt the effects of the bosses'

ravaging inflation, were in no mood to accept a wage cut.

The Int'l Committee Against Racism (InCAR), has consistently organized workers to reject the CTA's pleas to bail the bosses out of their financial woes. At a mass union meeting of nearly 3,000 bus drivers on Dec. 3, union president Weatherspoon was just barely able to restrain the workers from striking. Fearing the emergence of InCAR's leadership among the rank and file, Weatherspoon moved to cut this influence. InCAR was unable to win workers to ignore his fake militancy, giving the executive board more time to negotiate. They used this time to plan a sellout—but it wouldn't stick.

On Saturday, Dec. 8, Weatherspoon and Byrne announced an agreement on the cost-of-living issue, thus again averting a strike set for Monday. The deal would have put a 14 percent ceiling on the COLA and also pay it once every six months, a $20 million savings compared to the current quarterly payment schedule. InCAR immediately issued another flyer attacking this sellout (even the union executive board was split), its fourth leaflet in three weeks, totalling 15,000 leaflets. This leaflet was even more widely received by workers whose mood had turned from anticipation to anger directed at the CTA bosses and the ATU sellouts. Several InCAR meetings at bus barns and in the evening were held. More bus drivers joined InCAR. The idea of wildcatting against the hated racist CTA was gaining.

On Wednesday, the arrogant, bungling bosses suspended InCAR leader J. Rojas on phony charges. InCAR issued another 4,000 leaflets and word spread throughout the city. InCAR called for the immediate breakoff of negotiations. The union leadership, already facing certain rejection of their deal with the bosses, was attacked even more sharply. It was becoming evident that drivers would heed InCAR's call for a mass demonstration during working hours at Rojas' discharge hearing on the following Tuesday morning, which threatened to turn into a city-wide wildcat strike.

The union "leaders" were caught between the certainty of their sellout being rejected and the growing probability of a InCAR-led strike. Alongside the fact that the city and CTA bosses were refusing to give them anything they could take to the workers, the hacks were forced to maintain their leadership in the only possible way—strike.

At 3:00 a.m. Mon., Dec. 17, the workers walked out. The strike is 100 percent effective. All of Byrne's divisive threats that "10,000 women will drive the buses" and that "unemployed and management" would keep the system running have fallen on deaf, angry ears. Byrne's racist attempt to buy off the predominantly black transit workers by appointing a black politician and former bus driver, Eugene Barnes (one of the '68 wildcat leaders), has proved a loser. The **Sun Times** and **Tribune**, Chicago's major papers, have fed the city's workers an orgy of racist and anti-working class articles and editorials attacking the strikers. Libelling transit workers as "greedy, inconsiderate, and reckless" has only added fuel to the fire of workers' hatred for the bosses.

This is the first complete transit shutdown of Chicago since 1919. For all these years, the bosses and the bankers have been bleeding CTA riders and workers for extra billions in profits and from bank bonds. And now that the cow has been milked dry, the bankers seek to continue their profits—by cutting wages and services. Mass transportation, just like the schools, hospitals and everything else in capitalist society, is only as good as the profits that the bosses can wrench from them. The ruling class has been running these institutions on borrowed money for years—and now the chickens are coming home to roost.

Those politicians and media vultures who blame Byrne are telling only part of the story. Sure, Byrne is a crass racist, a liar and a parasite. But she is also an obedient servant of the corporate and bank bosses. She serves the same bosses that her mentor, Daley, served so faithfully for 20 years.

The CTA has gotten a judge to issue a temporary retraining order in an attempt to stop the strike. But drivers have ripped up the bosses' orders. The CTA has passed out notices to pickets threatening mass firings, but these, too, have been scorned by the strikers. "We are the powerful ones, not the bosses," declared a picket at the North Clark "Limits" bus barn. "Look at them; we have them on their knees. We have so much power that we don't know what to do with it." This hatred and contempt for capitalism's rulers and lords is leading to the kind of revolutionary consciousness evident in the mass response of transit workers to **Challenge** sellers and to **PLP's** ideas in general. The anti-racist unity marking this militant working-class action is part of the necessary preparation for the only answer to the present crisis of capitalism—burying the bosses with socialist revolution.

15% Vote for Communist

WASHINGTON, D.C., Jan. 23—Despite a vicious anti-communist campaign by the incumbent leadership and the bosses of D.C.'s Metro (public bus service), over 500 workers in Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689 voted for communist leadership in the recent election. And in the course of the campaign, 13 workers have become active in the Committee Against Racism chapter among drivers. The PLP-InCAR slate won the support of 15 percent of the workers (there was a 60 percent turnout in the election): 358 (12 percent) for union president; 381 (13 percent) for recording secretary, 288 (45 percent) for shop steward and executive board member among non-operating employees. The InCAR candidate for recording secretary is not a communist.

One worker at the Brentwood yard explained to the PLP-InCAR candidate for shop steward that he was voting for him but not for the PLP-InCAR candidate for president because he wanted to give the communists a chance at the shop steward level before he tried them out on the union-wide level.

At Bladensburg garage, a driver told InCAR that although he agreed with InCAR and PLP's outlook, he was not yet prepared to take that type of stand against the company and the government.

Although we do not fully agree with this cautious attitude among the workers, we can understand it in light of the sellouts who have victimized the workers in the past. As we in PLP and InCAR continue to advance our ideas among the workers in Metro, and as capitalist society continues to move along the path towards war and fascism, much of the workers' skepticism today will turn to active support. The bosses will certainly realize this and redouble their efforts to wipe out PLP and InCAR at Metro.

'Look how scared they are–you should feel proud!

Social Fascists Can't Stop Communist

NEW YORK CITY JAN. 10—"Look how scared they are of you. You should feel proud." That was the comment of an 1199 delegate to PLPer Leigh Benin as no less than eight staff organizers blocked his entrance to the Delegate Assembly. This was clearly part of a carefully-laid plan to isolate Leigh from the other delegates, just as Leigh's firing on Oct. 11 was intended to isolate him from co-workers at NYU Medical Center, where the bosses have barred him from the building, too. The bosses and their junior partners at 1199 headquarters have become desperate because their anti-communism and outright intimidation have failed to

Health care cutbacks are part of the bosses' war plans. PL and InCAR fight to stop these racist attacks.

curb PL's and InCAR's (International Committee Against Racism) growing influence among 1199ers, as shown by our 60 percent majority in the NYU Guild Division vote last September.

Leigh had come down early tonight to help hand out a leaflet announcing PLP's and InCAR's intention to form a slate of candidates to run against 1199's social-fascist leadership in the April union election, and to keynote the campaign for the CAR-sponsored amendment to 1199's By-Laws eliminating the union's racist "Divisions." But delegate registration, which is normally done in the union hall's main lobby, had been moved down to the basement cafeteria, and there was a group of staff organizers just hanging around in the lobby, looking out at the street occasionally. When Leigh went in to use the men's room off the lobby, these staffers sprang to attention as if to a bugle call. Later, when Leigh attempted to proceed beyond the lobby, he was blocked by these 8 staffers, who refused to say on whose orders they were acting, but kept repeating that they were simply defending the By-Laws which bar non-delegates from attending the Delegate Assembly. There was a lot of shouting and some pushing and shoving during which an organizer threatened to have the police throw Leigh out. When Guild Division V.P. Vivian Gioia happened by, she also refused to take responsibility, reciting the same pat phrase about the By-Laws—as if the union "leaders" had nothing to do with this carefully arranged setup.

Leigh, who has been an elected delegate since 1972, had attempted to raise the issue of his firing at the Nov. Delegate Assembly. Even though a majority voted against Gioia's attempt to silence him, she barred him with a two-thirds rule. Then Leigh received a letter from 1199 Pres. Leon Davis (who Leigh had run against in 1978), dated Nov. 9, the day after the Assembly, informing him that he was no longer a delegate. This was strange(!) inasmuch as Gioia, acting as chairperson of the Assembly, had said emphatically from the podium that Leigh would remain a delegate until his case was resolved in arbitration.

However, Leigh obtained the signatures of 75 delegates demanding that his firing be discussed at the December Assembly. The union's effort in the meantime to elect a new delegate in Leigh's department failed. The members insisted on waiting until Leigh's case was decided. At the December Assembly, a motion for a union demonstration at NYU to fight for Leigh's job was narrowly defeated (77 to 58). This close vote was nonetheless a political defeat for the leadership, which pulled every vicious trick at their disposal to win.

The 1199 "leadership's" answer to two months of political defeat has been to physically bar Leigh from the Assembly. He is the first delegate who has been treated in this way. 1199's new policy for fired delegates has been developed to keep Leigh Benin, as a spokesman for PLP and InCAR, out of 1199 politics. The workers elected Leigh, and the bosses fired him for discharging his delegate responsibilities according to the communist principles of uniting workers to fight the bosses. The social-fascist 1199 leadership, by barring Leigh from the delegate body, is upholding the bosses' decision, not the workers.' Because the 1199 misleaders have lost one political battle after another against PLP they have resorted to goons. They have proven by their actions that there is no democratic road to power in the unions for the rank and file, especially when led by communists. Even a small election victory has resulted in firing and exclusion from the union delegate body. However, the rank and file, under communist leadership will break through the bosses' rules and sweep them aside.

PLP Publications

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Weekly newspaper in English and Spanish reporting and analyzing struggles from the shops, campuses and communities and around the world. . . . 1 year $7.50

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   The general line of the Progressive Labor Party. Specify English (1A) or Spanish (1B)
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   Workers must unite to smash the rulers' system of super-profits from racism.
   Specify English (2A) or Spanish (2B)
3. **RACISM, INTELLIGENCE & THE WORKING CLASS** 25c
   An incisive critique of IQ theories and how they are used to build racism and fascism.
4. **SOLDIERS AND SAILORS AND THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM** 10c
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   The historic struggle for the shorter workday and why we need it–and how we can win it.
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   How capitalism grew in Iran, and why Iranian workers must fight for socialist revolution.
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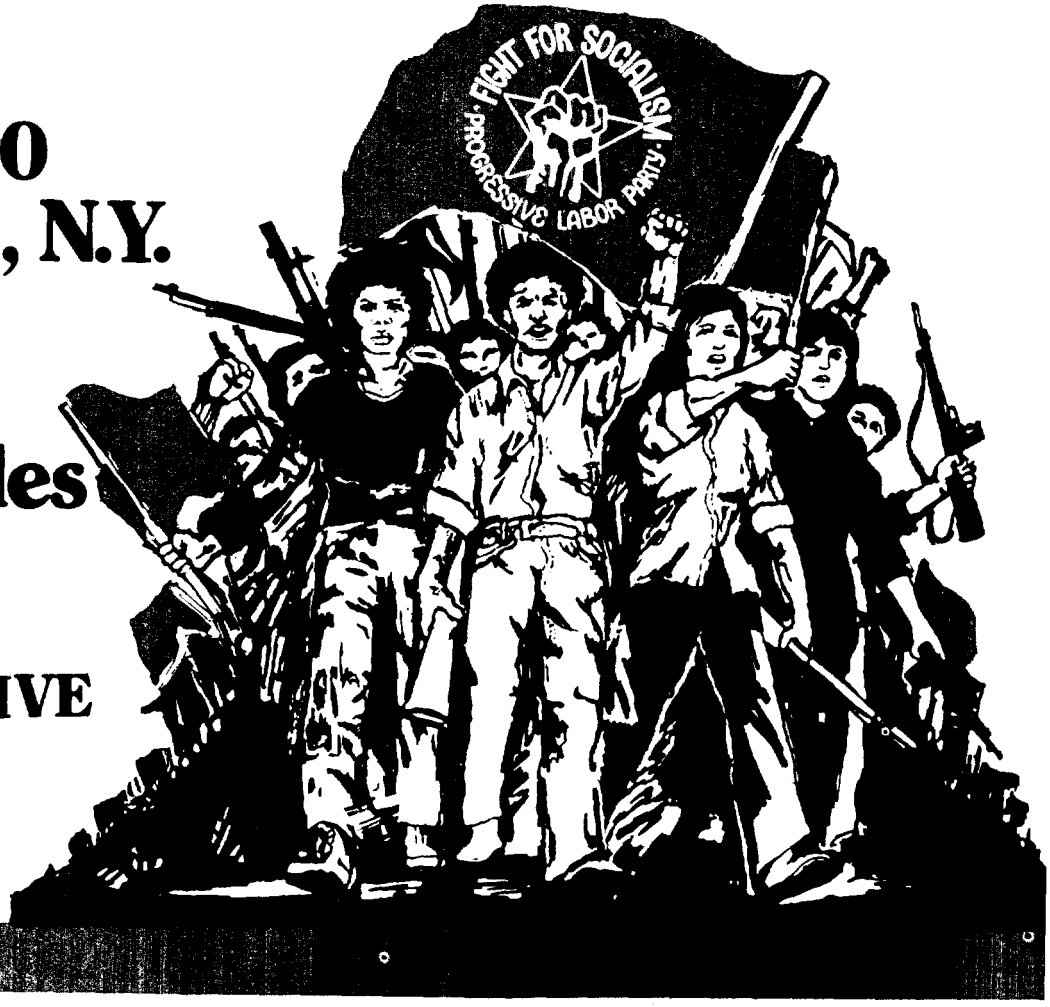

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